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CARL FREDERICK BETKE

Date of Birth — Date de naissance 1 DECEMBER 1981	Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance CANADA

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe

6326 - 44 A AVENUE
CAMROSE, ALBERTA, T4V 0B4

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN COMMUNITY IN PRAIRIE CANADA:
EDMONTON, 1898-1921

by

Ⓒ CARL FREDERICK BETKE

A THESIS
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled "The Development of Urban Community in Prairie Canada: Edmonton, 1898-1921" submitted by Carl Frederick Betke in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

L.G. Thomas
Supervisor
Lewis H. Thomas
John Foster
R. Macleod
Burton M. Smith
Gilbert Stelter
External Examiner

Date May 21, 1981

For Doreen

ABSTRACT

This is a study of the development of urban community in the Canadian prairie west in the early twentieth century. It tests the thesis that a multitude of group associations in the new city of Edmonton had significance for urban cohesion, even if that was not always perceived as a primary objective. It suggests the degree to which life in Edmonton offered and was ordered by an urban collective experience beyond individual, family or small group pursuits.

Intensive research provided information about Edmonton organizations in 1898, 1906, 1913 and 1921. Over the quarter century the nature of many associations and even of the urban context changed, but the primacy of the city for individual relationships continued. The population became larger and more diversified in background during an immigration and railway construction boom. The municipal councils before World War I made long-term commitments on behalf of the entire population for urban services against which no fundamental dissenting argument was raised, although election campaigns and aldermanic debates became heated on occasion over the precise forms of implementation. Rival centres on the two sides of the North Saskatchewan River, South Edmonton (later Strathcona) and Edmonton, merged. Organizations appeared to represent significant sectors of the population in

composite decision making: the Board of Trade, the Trades and Labor Council, the Federation of Community Leagues. Private welfare organizations accepted collective responsibilities so substantial that the public was gradually reconciled to paying for increasing proportions of them out of taxes. Churches continually found reason to espouse community causes or raise questions of public morality for comprehensive debate. Church-related institutions like Alberta College and the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations devised broad programs catering to urban needs. Hundreds of elite, professional, business, fraternal, service, recreational and church-based societies coordinated their own specific priorities with encompassing civic aims. Theatrical and sporting entertainment came to be organized for mass audiences on a regular basis. At that particular time North American communications and corporate organization cast such widespread nets that, despite the newness of the city, much of what developed in the Edmonton economy, civic administration, voluntary associations and recreation followed standard international patterns.

The social fabric of the city woven from many associational threads was somewhat different in each of the years for which the composite picture is presented. The aggregate effect was in one sense unique. In another sense, however, variety was limited by the commitments to collective strategies. What were first conceived of as new opportunities arising from consolidation in many fields could be transformed into binding strictures. The city became something like an organism in which easily replaced individual citizens had differing cellular roles, but by which the individual's quality of life was largely determined.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I have appreciated the patience and support of many people and several institutions. The Canada Council granted financial sustenance in the form of a Doctoral Fellowship. The Killam Scholarship Fund provided supplementary aid. The staffs at several libraries and archives, in particular the Edmonton City Archives and the Provincial Archives of Alberta, responded willingly and cheerfully to requests. The finished typescript is a tribute to the swift and careful work of Mrs. Marian Reesor. Different members of the University History Department assisted on various occasions. My supervisor, Dr. L. G. Thomas, demonstrated unceasing patience in his attention to my themes, organization and writing style. He brought his special knowledge to many long discussions of particular aspects of the study. My family has accepted a burden at times as great as my own; and my wife, Doreen, has contributed extraordinary support which can never be repaid. Such extensive help from so many sources has substantially reduced the shortcomings in information, interpretation and style for which I am finally responsible.

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INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1: The Urban and Rural Distinction.

The organizing concepts of this study may be explained in a Canadian context by reference to the preoccupation of some leading Canadian historians with the importance of "metropolitanism" in Canadian development. When the idea was so impressively displayed by J. M. S. Careless in 1954, it had already been expressed in varying degree in the work of H. A. Innis, Donald Creighton, A. R. M. Lower and Donald Masters.[1] But Careless isolated and made explicit a theory which had previously been submerged beneath the weight of such traditional themes as the development of nationhood and the impact of the frontier. He identified as the main feature of the metropolitan thesis the emergence of outstanding cities, each of which went on to organize a dependent area's resource development, transportation, communications, trade, finance, politics, education, society and artistic culture to such an extent as to prove its dominance.

It was quite possible to see smaller metropolitan systems within larger ones: all Canadian history might be characterized in such terms at each community level. There were unique reasons, Careless argued, for applying the concept specifically to Canadian history: its population has for example been concentrated in certain limited areas, making centralization of metropolitan power more visible in Canada than in the United States. The long political connection with the "British" centre of power seems made to order for metropolitan conjecture and the central Canadian government has traditionally exerted considerable direct effort to overcome major obstacles in the way of Canadian frontier economic development.[2]

This is not to suggest Careless altogether denigrated the usefulness of the frontier thesis. In the first place, it was central to his 1954 article that the dominance of the metropolis in the new theory be contrasted with the primacy of the frontier in the old. His explanation of the importance of metropolitan configurations, moreover, owed much to a previous nationalist reaction to the particular environmentalism displayed by supporters of the frontier thesis. These had assumed a continental "new world" development of successive frontiers; little distinction was perceived at national boundaries. But Donald Creighton, building to some extent on the work of H. A. Innis, emphasized a distinctively Canadian environment of river systems which could stimulate a separate, natural Canadian communication and transportation pattern. The environmental aspect of frontierism was thus modified to provide "natural" support for Creighton's emphasis on an ultimately metropolitan Canadian system finding its dominant centre in London and its native focal point in Montreal.[3]

Not only did concentration on the frontier theory promote Canadian discovery of metropolitan patterns, but it also derived new importance from the application of metropolitanism. The frontier did not disappear in Careless' formulation, it was rather moved from predominant to dependent status in the new picture of Canadian development, from the role of instigator of progress to that of reactor to progress.[4] Frontier protest movements could therefore no longer be understood as expressions of fresh new world ideals, but only of resentment and resistance to manifestations of the power of metropolitan centres. A dichotomy was implied by Careless' original classification of the metropolitan thesis: the metropolis dominated a region; the hinterland (the "frontier" of old mythology, reduced to the "colony" in the new) resisted domination, ineffectually unless a new metropolis was being created. This duality has characterized scholarly understanding of Canadian metropolitan development ever since 1954.

Another scholar had similar perceptions; A. R. M. Lower had already pointed out "Two Ways of Life: The Primary Antithesis of Canadian History."[5] More recently, he returned reflectively to the topic in broad context.[6] In one article he again emphasized "Two Ways of Life," declaring that "city and country, the urban and the rural, the complex and the simple, the civilized and the primitive, such terms sharpen the antithesis." In Lower's analysis a certain moral flavour was added: the city was a "demand centre" which got from the country "supply centre" what it needed by an infinite variety of devices including not only trade but also piracy, colonization and war.[7] Even the apparently more legitimate method of trade involved exploitation by the "slavery of debt"; thus "from whatever angle it is examined, the simple people of the countryside seem invariably to have got the worst of it...."[8] Cities, moreover, Lower described as "groups of men organized, not for living, as is the countryside, but for accomplishment" by means of "economic control".[9] The values of the frontier survived in the new metropolitan interpretation, but as characteristics of an oppressed rather than of an ascendant population.

This juxtaposition of two basic elements of modern life was only brought the more into relief by Lower's introduction of a third consideration, the position of middlemen, into the formula.[10] For these turned out either to remain staunch agents of the urban metropolis forever, despite residence in the hinterland, or to become protagonists in the creation of new metropoles; in both cases they remained separated from the denizens of the countryside. The fundamental dichotomy remained.

Recently W. L. Morton, speculating about the search for a grand hypothesis which would "explain at once the centrality and the regionality of Canada's actual history," dismissed the metropolitan thesis, because it

> seems necessarily to minimize the importance of the hinterland. Yet no metropolis lives of itself; it is to the extent that it is metropolitan rather than just urban, a function of its hinterland.[11]

His criticism can be interpreted as a modification of Lower's line of thought: Lower obviously grieved for the impotence of the superior lifestyles and values of the hinterland; Morton apparently could not divest himself of the conviction (probably originally derived from the frontier thesis) that the hinterland must be crucially important to the metropolis. Interdependence should be introduced into the metropolitan formula to replace urban dominance. Careless soon seized the opportunity to agree that, to be sure, "the concepts of metropolitan centre and hinterland region can only be made meaningful in terms of one's relation with the other." Professor Morton was therefore "perfectly correct in his conclusion that the regional and the central, the metropolis and the hinterland, must always be kept in balance."[12]

Morton, nevertheless, dismissed the thesis; Careless, on the other hand, emphasized Morton's own points to salvage its usefulness, stressing "interaction between metropolis and hinterland, out of which all sorts of results may come." It was also necessary for Careless, turning his attention to Lower's work, to disagree with that historian's tendency to preoccupation with the exploitation of staple products as the basis of metropolitan dominance.[13] Lower's narrowly conceived formula, Morton's criticism and Careless' modifying defense of metropolitanism all assumed, however, that it is indeed possible to discern two essential separate forces. Careless has thus been able to describe tentatively a particular outburst of French Canadian nationalism as "a reaction of forces within a hinterland region against existing metropolitan dominance."[14] All Canadian history might be explained repeatedly in terms of a simple dichotomy.

In three other recent offerings Careless has however transcended a merely two-dimensional characterization of Canadian development while recommending attention to divisions, multiple group identities and pluralism in Canada.[15] It is true that even here there appeared frequent references to urban elites, regional power structures, decision-making centres, dominant urban centres and chief metropolitan cities, all phenomena which fit clearly into his metropolitan thesis. But his apparent consciousness of diversity is most stimulating. Not only nationalism but also matters of class, generation, ethnicity and urbanization were said to be important areas for study.[16] Chief urban centres might after all contain critical differentiating characteristics.[17] Canadian cities might in fact deserve detailed ~~study:~~ since at least the 1880s the rate of urban population growth has been steadily impressive; moreover, Canada has been very much a land of "cities in the wilderness."[18]

A bewildering number of themes seemed to Careless to exhibit distinctively urban qualities: not only metropolitan relations but also communications, technological changes, elites, artistic cultural sponsorship and educational development, to cite his examples. Beyond those which he discussed at some length, he recognized an almost endless list of pertinent topics

> such as class, ethnic and religious relations; ... labour, immigration, unemployment and relief; ... social problems and policies; alcoholism and the temperance movement; industrial and financial development, wholesaling and retailing; not to mention the press, the professions, the crafts, and the amusements. There is besides the whole question of the city's role in national and regional politics and its own municipal political life. There is the history of its internal services, transport and utilities; its planning and speculation, its buildings, its general ambiance. And still the list could be extended to cover its people in individual and collective personalities, the 'urban biography' of their whole community.[19]

Here his interest in urban history clearly intersected with his discovery of diversity in the Canadian experience: to study urban history may mean, after all, to study diversity and segmentation within a peculiar kind of community.

Recognition of pluralism in urban life at once undermines and illuminates the traditional metropolitan thesis. Were one to examine in detail the twin components of metropolitanism, the metropolitan centre and the hinterland, one would soon recognize that the relative homogeneity of the economy and society in the one contrasts markedly with the heterogeneity in the other. An agricultural hinterland, for example, would be populated by farmers and minor middlemen acting as agents of the metropolitan centre. The farmers are alike in that they perform a similar service, a similar function: they produce certain (perhaps staple) foodstuffs required or transmitted further by the metropolis. But of what and whom is the metropolitan centre composed? Of a population homogeneously engaged in a single service? Careless' own introduction to the city in Canadian history betrays its complexity, its collection of functions, its segmentation, its coordination of oft-conflicting interests. Who is more the urban dweller: the factory worker or the financial director? Does the factory worker have more in common with the financial director or with the farmer? Are the identifications of the three, one with any other, less tenuous and distant in any combination? Is the cooperation of any two of the three personal and intimate? How then, are the metropolitan and the hinterland populations comparable as entities?

The metropolitan thesis can easily allow our preoccupation to remain with the nature and relations of the hinterland. It may also cause us to take for granted the unity of the metropolis; not to wonder at the process by which so many diverse people came to behave as a solid community, or at the forces which hold them together. Perhaps the "interaction" which Professor Careless has come to recognize between metropolis and hinterland is just as fascinating among a multitude of urban groups variously identified, not only between two massive antithetical urban and rural configurations. Both Careless and Gilbert Stelter have separated urban historical studies of "processes or events in an urban setting" or "intra-urban" history from studies of "external patterns of organization" or "exo-urban" history.[20] Perhaps such a separation is misleading: is the relevant interaction not rather among groups of considerably reduced identity, such that none of them is limited to merely urban or merely non-urban relationships. Perhaps the city cannot be isolated as a unified entity exerting collective influence on the non-city. Perhaps any city is definable only as an area of relatively dense population, thus notable only as a visible focus of cooperation.

Speculation inspired by some of Careless' latest theory links the hinterland and the metropolis in the process by which a frontier disappears. A wilderness might progress from a "superficial extractive frontier" through a "committed extractive stage" of relatively small towns, some of them commercial, beyond a third plateau at which local resources are locally processed, finally to a "regenerative" era during which the cities no longer depend entirely upon restrictedly local resources for continuing development, else they stagnate.[21] The later stages focus increasing proportions of the incoming population in close proximity. Economic growth and specialization in this moving picture create cities. The dichotomy between country and city is reduced; their connection is in historical process.

If in certain senses the distinctiveness of the urban and rural categories is not absolute, yet it is true that the spirit of separate community is strongly built in the process of city growth. The experience of the city environment, beginning with the simple facts of close proximity and the interdependence of urban specialists, creates the illusion of a separate organism, of distinction between the city and the outside. So solid an interconnectedness is this that the continuation of cities once well established is normally taken for granted. If there are inter-personal or inter-group animosities within urban confines, all seem to have been resolved in the long run of Canadian history in favour of a continuing cooperation. Urbanization has been a generally positive process, characterized by relatively regular urban population growth.[22] Most Canadians have been content not to separate themselves from their fellows.

Even a superficial study would demonstrate how incorrect it is to suggest all Canadians learned urban cooperation in Canada; historically significant civilized behaviour was brought from elsewhere to Canada by immigrants. Nor is it true that all Canadian group associations are to be identified by occupational classifications; neither, therefore, are all inter-group conflicts necessarily stimulated by occupational discord. The internal contradictions to be resolved in a city must be manifold, and the larger and more diversified the urban population, the greater the complexity of the interactions. This is true even if something as basic as the tension between the expansion of specialized services in a new city like Edmonton and the attendant mounting necessity for widespread cooperation may be said to underlie the development of urban community. The "urbanization" demonstrated by Edmonton's social development matched increasing economic and social complexity with a more sophisticated network of agencies promoting unity.

If a commitment to the ideal of community[23] is inseparable from the workings of a city, the commitment existed in early Edmonton in varying degrees of intensity for different residents. It would be easy enough to classify some as zealous organizers and others as those merely being organized. John Taylor has, for example, in his search for the essence of the frontier in urban situations, described "Canadian frontiers as the frontiers of the powerless" and (after S. D. Clark) relations between metropolis and frontier as simply "a socio-economic relationship or contest between the powerful and powerless." He then hypothesized that three frontier conditions have arisen in Canadian history: the classic land frontier exploited by a geographically external metropolis; an urban-industrial "frontier within" the city where wealth has been created by exploitation of powerless industrial workers (after Daniel Elazar); and a kind of welfare frontier in which chief advantages go to the institutionalized components of society at the expense of an unorganized sector.[24]

Those who did not organize themselves adequately to cope with the demands of the community gradually became the objects of the attention of organizers, activating the idea of public or social welfare. That very term suggests its roots in a dedication to the welfare not so much of individuals but rather of the organism of which they were a part: in this case, the city. Misfits often seemed not only peripheral but burdensome, sometimes even dangerous. To put it another way, without commitment (however unwitting) to community, there would be no concern for welfare on a group level; only one-to-one concerns among individuals. As Edmonton developed, we shall see, individual pursuits and the quality of individual lives came irreversibly to depend on the quality of the organism.[25] A tyranny of community was exerted in which it became unimaginable to live without it.

Social welfare is only one of a number of urban developments which illustrate the community theme. Obviously the first factor in community maintenance would be the degree of homogeneity in the previous experiences of the population, the extent to which the new urban citizens shared common traditions. Within the general population the relative homogeneity of an elite would be important to the establishment of common direction for the city. In each section to follow, identified by a particular year in the continuum 1898 to 1921, the first chapter examines the population. The second chapter in each section introduces the economic circumstances. The interdependence promoted by the economy could work only insofar as a suitable economic base was available, and as a suitable system for exchange of services (including transportation) was operative. The third chapter considers a community factor following largely from the second: the artificial or formal cooperation which was necessary to overcome failures of interdependent economic self-interest to maintain all aspects of the system. A booming economy, for example, required public intervention to provide the desired levels of energy, communication and transportation utilities; and public intervention to regulate residential relationships. Collapse of the growth boom in 1913 emphasized public responsibility to ensure the welfare of the many new citizens whose livelihoods had depended on the rapid expansion. The choice of municipal leaders was therefore not an inconsequential urban pastime.

The common good was at the same time pursued at micro-levels within the greater city: by service clubs, professional associations, labour unions and neighbourhood organizations. The fourth chapter in each section will therefore analyze the contributions of voluntary organizations to civic unity. The connections might not always seem obvious at first glance. But the churches, to take one example, bound together people intent on finding absolute principles to guide their behaviour toward harmonious relations with one another. The church denominations brought tradition and stability to the urban community of Edmonton from the outset. More than that, they brought the North American tradition of substantial tolerance by one denomination for the other, an ability to coexist and even on many occasions to cooperate. The overall framework was Christian, to be sure, although some issues could be divisive.

On the other hand, Edmonton developed at the same time as certain ecumenical experiments which emphasized shared objectives. And similarly, the fifth chapter in each section looks into another category of activities with purposes not first and foremost couched in urban terms. But the modes of recreation which emerged served to organize people and bring groups together, by focussing large audiences on common entertainment, for instance, and by immersing large numbers of people in games played in teams and leagues.

The effect of this study of an urban people and their organizations is to show how those organizations collectively contributed to an urban community in a particular situation. Initially the plethora of organizations and population characteristics simply suggest variety, without cohesion. Further, a close consideration of the history of each group in isolation would emphasize the derivative quality of their Edmonton experience. Yet collectively, the complex set of various and derivative activities presents both a unified and a unique picture. The focus is admittedly on the urban social community alone, whereas there are other factors which contribute to a whole description of a particular city - the physical appearance, for one. Within its limits, however, the technique used without deviation in this approach, drawing together in one study a mass of historical population and organizational detail in order to demonstrate its inter-relatedness in Edmonton, can be expected to distinguish Edmonton's community development from that of other cities. More than that, it tries to define the urban unit in the ways its residents sensed it, so that they distinguished not only the Edmonton experience from the Calgary one, but also city folk from country folk. It tries to explain the persistence of the metropolitan-hinterland dichotomy in Canadian perceptions by the cumulative strength of a city's community institutions.

Footnotes

1. J. M. S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," Canadian Historical Review (C.H.R.), vol. 35, no. 1 (March, 1954), 1-21, particularly 14-17.

2. Ibid., 17-21.

3. Ibid., 10-15.

4. Indeed, in a later article Careless discerned that "a frontier, after all, is a hinterland in an early stage of development....usually they have evolved as populated, variegated, and enduring hinterlands...." See "Metropolitan Reflections on 'Great Britain's Woodyard'," Acadiensis, vol. 3, no. 1 (Autumn, 1973), 108.

5. Canadian Historical Association (C.H.A.) Report (1943), 5-18. See also his "Geographical Determinants in Canadian History," in R. Flenley, ed., Essays in Canadian History Presented to G. M. Wrong (Toronto, 1939).

6. "The Metropolitan and the Provincial," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 76 (Winter, 1969), 577-590; "Townsman and Countryman: Two Ways of Life," Dalhousie Review, vol. 50 (1970-71), 480-487; "Metropolis and Hinterland," South Atlantic Quarterly, vol. 70 (1971), 386-403.

7. Lower, "Townsman," 480-482.

8. Ibid., 486-487.

9. Lower, "Metropolis," 388.

10. Ibid., 392-396, 402-403. While my theme is being developed from Canadian studies, the notion of urban definition by separation from the rural condition is by no means only a Canadian one; nor even one applied solely to the modern industrial city. See, for example, the urban - rural relationship outlined in

M. I. Finley, "The Ancient City: from Fustel de Coulanges to Max Weber and Beyond," Comparative Studies in Society and History, vol. 19, no. 3 (July, 1977), 305-327.

11. W. L. Morton, "Some Thoughts on Understanding Canadian History," Acadiensis, vol. 2, no. 2 (Spring, 1973), 106.

12. Careless, "Metropolitan Reflections," 106.

13. Ibid., 108.

14. "Metropolitanism and Nationalism," in P. H. Russell, ed., Nationalism in Canada (Toronto, McGraw-Hill, 1966), 277.

15. "Somewhat Narrow Horizons," C.H.A. Historical Papers (1968), 1-10; "Nationalism, Pluralism and Canadian History," Culture, vol. 30 (March, 1969), 19-26; "'Limited Identities' in Canada," C.H.R., vol. 50 (1969), 1-10.

16. Careless, "Nationalism," 21-22.

17. Careless, "'Limited Identities'," 6-8.

18. Careless, "Somewhat Narrow," 4-5; J. M. S. Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," Urban History Review, No. 3-78 (February, 1979), 101.

19. Careless, "Somewhat Narrow," 10.

20. J. M. S. Careless, "Urban Development in Canada," Urban History Review, no. 1-74 (June, 1974), 9-10; Gilbert A. Stelter, "The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past," Histoire Sociale/Social History, vol. 7 (1974), 9-10, 18-20.

21. Careless, "Urban Development," 10-13; Careless, "Metropolis and Region," 116-118.

22. Leroy O. Stone, Urban Development in Canada (Ottawa, Queen's Printer 1967), 14-41.

23. Among the numerous studies of the concept of urban community, the two following contain discussions related to my use of the term: Stuart M. Blumin, The Urban Threshold: Growth and Change in a Nineteenth-Century American Community (Chicago & London, University of London Press, 1976), and David W. Minar and Scott Greer, eds., The Concept of Community (Chicago, Aldine Publishing Company, 1969).

24. John Taylor, "The Urban West, Public Welfare, and a Theory of Urban Development" in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1975), 288-290.

25. An introduction to this idea is provided by Leo Schnore, "The City as a Social Organism," Urban Affairs Quarterly, vol. 1 (1966), 58-69.

Chapter 2: Edmonton Before 1898.

Prior to their merger in 1821, both major British North American fur-trading companies established the site of twentieth-century Edmonton by locating neighbouring forts in the same vicinity on the North Saskatchewan river.[1] The Northwest Company's Fort Augustus and the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Edmonton were never securely positioned geographically until the day of union, but thereafter Fort Edmonton became a chief Hudson's Bay Company post for the trade of furs and manufactured supplies, connected by winter route *via* the North Saskatchewan to Norway House, York Factory and London, England. While Hudson's Bay Company control of the Northwest Territories did not end until 1870, by the early 1860s there were already signs that the development of overland routes by way of American points would reduce Fort Edmonton's importance. Ox-cart and railway systems through St. Paul and Winnipeg created one new trading route; connections between southern Alberta and Fort Benton, Montana created another. As Edmonton was at the end of both trails, its importance declined with the crucial aspect of its water route through Hudson's Bay.[2]

Utter decline was not the result, for some adventurers on their return from the Cariboo gold rush in the early 1860s stopped to settle in the Edmonton region, while others vainly sought in such local areas of the North Saskatchewan river as "Clover Bar" the glitter of a new gold strike. Subsequent more northerly British Columbia gold hunts kept travellers circulating through Edmonton during the late 1860s and early 1870s, some of them gradually adding to the limited non-Indian population.[3]

The end of Hudson's Bay Company rule and the transfer of the Northwest to Canada in 1870 marked the beginning of significant settlement outside the Fort. Even the main Hudson's Bay Company residence within the stockade was replaced by a new one just outside. The Company, though relinquishing total control over the territory, nevertheless reserved an enormous tract of land in the vicinity, amounting to 3,000 acres. Other land claims staked on the north side of the North Saskatchewan during the 1870s were therefore generally some distance from the Fort; the alternative was to locate on the south side of the river. Many of the new settlers, like Malcolm Groat and John Walter, were former Company employees, having virtually their choice of property. Well known businessmen of a later age at first owed their livelihood to farm land, only gradually becoming involved in other enterprises to service the community. In 1874, perhaps forty private owners occupied property in the area, exclusive of the nearby St. Albert mission and settlement. Refugees from the westerly gold fields supplemented ex-Company employees in the modest rush to exploit the newest popular resource: land. 1874 was the year in which fifty protectors of peaceful land settlement, the North-West Mounted Police, arrived at Fort Saskatchewan, somewhat separated but not inaccessible from Edmonton.[4]

Starting from the tiny Edmonton population of 1870, it would be easy to exaggerate the settlement's growth in the next decade. One could, for example, accurately point out that the 1881 Edmonton population of 263 represented an increase of no less than 80 percent over that of 1878, in an absurd misuse of statistics. In fact, the most imposing accommodation continued to be that of the Hudson's Bay Company's Chief Factor, the "Big House" standing grandly on the high ground of the present Legislative Building, above the Fort on a lower level of the river bank. It is true, nevertheless, that the Fort was in the early 1880s accompanied by a number of business establishments - several general stores, butcher shop, harness shop, blacksmith shop, print shop, hardware store, barber shop, bank, two hotels and of course the churches - in several clusters separated by bush. From 1881, lots were being sold in the newly surveyed "townsite" around the Fort; on some of them residences appeared immediately, initiating an alternative settlement nucleus to the commercial centre farther east.[5]

The character of the populace changed as the predominance of Hudson's Bay Company men declined. The French speaking population, for instance, was fundamentally altered; French and Quebec immigrants first complementing, then to a considerable extent replacing, the original French Canadians and Metis. Some of the newcomers were eventually to achieve commercial, political and social prominence on the basis of modest original enterprises, like the general merchandising store of Stanislas LaRue and Joseph Henry Picard of Quebec. At the same time many of the Metis who had originally been attached to the Company as Fort buffalo hunters or freight transporters left the community to find new livelihoods elsewhere. Their Francophone replacements from Quebec were far better attuned to urban development; many, including Picard, began their

Edmonton careers by undertaking construction enterprises suited to expectations of population expansion. Some can be identified as hotel proprietors or distributing merchants; some, even during the 1880s, conducted two or more enterprises simultaneously.[6]

Newcomers also appeared from other parts of Canada to challenge the primacy of Hudson's Bay Company men and other oldtimers. Such well-travelled gold-hunting pioneers as Donald Ross, who finally settled down to establish Edmonton's first hotel in 1876, or James Gibbons, who waited until his mid-forties to settle on an Edmonton homestead, had once themselves been the new element to confront Hudson's Bay Company employees. Now, in the early 1880s, they were surrounded by energetic young Ontarians and maritimers taking advantage of the modest population expansion to provide new services for profit.

Ross' Edmonton Hotel soon had a competitor, Jasper House, whose proprietor, James Goodridge, had once been an Ontario cabinet maker. Frank Oliver became well-known for his Edmonton Bulletin, the second newspaper in the Northwest Territories. K. A. McLeod took advantage at the age of 24 of a minor real estate boom to invest his profits in a building and contract business. Richard Ottewell's Clover Bar homestead eventually became the scene of a variety of enterprises, including coal mining, saw milling and flour milling. Richard Secord's first opportunity was school teaching in 1883, but he soon left this for participation in fur trading and general merchandising with John A. McDougall, perhaps the most prominent Edmonton entrepreneur of his generation. Only 24 in 1878, McDougall nevertheless had over ten years of storekeeping and associated experience in Ontario and the Northwest when he opened his first Edmonton store. Although McDougall's fur trading was successful enough to stir some irritation in the neighbouring Hudson's Bay Company post, the operations of his general store were gradually extended to specialize in outfitting and trading with pioneers at more northerly points, while the trading profits were judiciously invested in land in and around Edmonton, in long-term anticipation of eventual settlement.[7]

Other Canadians carved themselves niches in the new village commerce and industry in the early 1880s. Ross Brothers' hardware store originated in 1882 on the initiative of James Ross after four years of freighting, carpentering and tinsmithing in the locality. The lumber business and carpentry experiences of A. J. and D. R. Fraser enabled them to operate the premier local sawmill after 1881. Matthew McCauley spent ten years as labourer, teamster, drayman and farmer in other western places preparing for his 1881 start in Edmonton as liveryman and contractor. Most of these men were relatively young when they came, yet many had spent years wandering from place to place, a pattern which suggests that to balance those who stayed, many must have passed through in the quest for more lucrative prospects. Not all the Canadian newcomers looked for business opportunities, for some came to occupy professional or government positions - the Osbornes in the new post office, Thomas Anderson as the first Crown timber agent, H. L. McInnis as government surgeon, D. G. McQueen as Presbyterian minister. If the Canadians swelled the population only a little, they did initiate some elaboration of the available services.[8]

The Hudson's Bay Company came to share the economic concerns of the newcomers. The remaining employees of the Company had after 1870 to adjust to administering not only an altered fur trade, with the influx of numerous competitors, but also the parcels of land left after transfer of the northwest to Canada was complete. The Company found that income from land sales was for the time being virtually non-existent outside urban centres. Development of the land resources would have to await substantial immigration.[9] Artificial stimuli were of only limited use to increase land sales and agricultural production in the region. But some of the former Company employees hoped as much as the Company did to profit from land speculation. Leaders in the settlements of Edmonton, St. Albert and Fort Saskatchewan were persistent; they were prepared as early as 1879 to promote the Edmonton Agricultural Society to organize annual agricultural exhibitions. While enthusiasm soon waned so that by 1881 the Society had failed, it was revived in 1882, possibly in response to expectations of expansion generated by the revitalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway project in 1881.

Frank Oliver, pioneer newspaper publisher of the _Edmonton Bulletin_, was credited with the Agricultural Society's resurgence. His advocacy of vigorous support of agriculture through the Society was but one manifestation of his and his fellow Edmontonians' economic orientation. Oliver's newspaper was designed to be read by farmers, just as the merchant-sponsored Agricultural Shows were intended to benefit farmers. In other words, non-farmers and part-time farmers promoted the region's agricultural development. The Bulletin offered practical advice on the treatment of domestic animal and crop diseases and on the desirability of local cooperative cheese factories and creameries. Letters to the editor were as often as not from farmers. Agitation by Manitoba farmers against alleged monopolist abuses by grain elevators was regularly reported. Edmonton businessmen obviously hoped to prosper on the basis of regional agricultural progress; by the time it came in the late 1890s, the urban pioneers were well prepared.[10]

For that, though, communications and transportation facilities had to improve. During the 1870s railway connection with eastern Canada was a matter for anticipation only, marked by levels of optimism which varied according to rumours of the probable route and completion date for the expected Canadian Pacific Railway. Telegraph communications reached within twenty miles south of Edmonton in 1877, but the alleged dominion government preference at that time for a northerly railway route through the vicinity did not materialize. In 1880 there was some reason to believe that agricultural development of the area was immediately at hand, for the transcontinental Canadian Pacific Railway was once more seriously under construction, and publicized plans were to route it north-westward from Winnipeg and ultimately through Yellowhead Pass. Telegraph service reached Edmonton that year, stimulating Frank Oliver to make good use of it to fill part of his fledgling newspaper.

Modern connections with the rest of Canada seemed at hand.[11]

In anticipation the Dominion Lands Board in 1882 caused a settlement to be made of the informal partitioning conducted by the settlers themselves since 1872. This outline was used two years later by William Pearce, Inspector of Lands Agencies, to sort out conflicting land claims and rationalize boundaries officially on the lots of more than 240 landowners whose property formed the basis of Edmonton and South Edmonton townsites much later on.[12]

A minor fever of speculative preparation was abruptly curtailed in Edmonton when the news arrived in the summer of 1881 that a more southerly route, favouring the expansion of Calgary, would be followed. Edmonton entrepreneurs were not entirely put off the pursuit of land investments, but realization of major profits was delayed. In the meantime, mercantile transportation patterns from Winnipeg were significantly altered, shallow-draft steamboats on the Saskatchewan losing their predominance of the 1870s to a combination of railway and Red River carts, wagons and stagecoaches. River steamers continued, however, to serve intermediate Saskatchewan River settlements and, in combination with overland routes, anchored the metropolitan ambitions of Edmontonians to dominate the northern trading systems. Here was much of the communications basis of Edmonton's livelihood prior to the agricultural boom of the late 1890s.[13]

The completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Calgary by 1883 encouraged a fundamental change in the trading outlets of Edmonton and its hinterland. Transportation along the

Calgary-Edmonton trail, once the link with Fort Benton, Montana, revived, but with a new ultimate destination. Stage, freight, mail and telegraph communication soon bound Edmontonians, like other western Canadians, to central Canada. Western localities whose ambitions had been frustrated by the choice of a southern transcontinental railway route quickly attempted to obtain spur line connection with the main track.[14]

For Edmonton, the link was ensured by federal incorporation of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway Company in the spring of 1890. The seven provisional directors included two members of an investment firm closely associated with western land companies (Edmund B. Osler and Herbert C. Hammond) and five railway contractors of varying distinction (James Ross, Nicol Kingsmill, Herbert S. Holt, William Mackenzie and Donald D. Mann). But for a variety of reasons, theirs was obviously only a second best solution to Edmonton's transportation needs. Calgary was still the galling reminder of what Edmonton had missed. Calgary would benefit economically from every subsidiary railway joining the main line there. Other beneficiaries incited Edmonton's envy. The principal investors in the railway would profit handsomely in the long run, supported by proceeds from a ten-square-mile-per-mile-of-railroad grant. On a line stretching from Fort Macleod in the south all the way north to South Edmonton, the total endowment would amount to a stunning 1,800,000 acres. Finally, the C.P.R. itself stood to gain from branch lines, and in this case it had the additional benefit of a lease to operate the new railway.[15] Edmonton's gain was dwarfed by the profits of others.

The promise of the railway was nevertheless enough to justify Edmonton's incorporation as a town in early 1892. It also unfortunately provided the original issue activating a municipal and economic rivalry with that hamlet of hitherto dismissable proportions, South Edmonton. For, in negotiating the terminal site for the railway in the Edmonton district, the directors were able to reject relatively expensive propositions on the populous north side of the river in favour of an attractive settlement on the south side. A small coterie of south Edmonton entrepreneurs controlled a package of more than one thousand acres of land in a good, central location south of the river. The railway directors were convinced that it could serve as a neat new townsite anchored by the proposed station, particularly as they would be treated to a half interest in the townsite property in return for a July, 1892 deadline on completion of construction. Wary Edmonton businessmen, starved already for a decade past of favourable economic prospects, interpreted the essence of this agreement to mean undue influence might be added by the railway investors to South Edmonton intrigues to have federal administration buildings constructed in the vicinity of the new station.[16]

Emotions were thus prepared for the excitement of one of the sustaining legends of Edmonton community spirit: the attempted "theft" on June 18, 1892 of Edmonton's federal land office by South Edmonton. The federal land and timber agent in Edmonton, Thomas Anderson, was one of those alleged to have an interest (possibly through his son) in the south side townsite. When he, evidently with federal government sanction, was spied on June 18, 1892 organizing a move of office books and supplies to the south side, it was easy for Edmonton citizens to suspect a conspiracy by the backers of the new townsite. In a frenzy of excitement leading citizens organized the dismantling of the offending wagon and the unhitching of the horses. Town officials despatched protesting telegrams to parliamentarians, territorial legislators and Sir Donald Smith of the Canadian Pacific Railway. An evening mass meeting at the site of the attempted crime served to maintain civic morale, while the building itself was protected by guards posted around the clock until the arrival of replies to the telegrams.

Two local policemen were helpless in the circumstances; even a force of twenty North West Mounted Policemen arriving from Fort Saskatchewan could see the wisdom in allowing the mob which had gathered simply to remain and await the calming news which must surely come from Ottawa. On June 20 it came: the permanent land office would remain in Edmonton; any projected move had ostensibly only been a temporary plan.[17] A great plot had, in the minds of Edmonton townspeople, been frustrated in the nick of time by determined local vigilance. The incident passed into the ever escalating grandeur of Edmonton's municipal mythology, its significance not to be found in actual events but in the new animosity it displayed between the rival communities of Edmonton and South Edmonton, a sense of competition which could not formally be squelched until amalgamation in 1912.

Meanwhile the first requirement in Edmonton's drive to offset the advantage of South Edmonton's train station was to obtain a bridge between the two centres.[18] The highly visible inefficiency of countless ferry trips between the banks of the North Saskatchewan must have frustrated Edmontonians, for it was to be a decade after the driving of the last spike in the Calgary and Edmonton Railway in July, 1892 before its connection with Edmonton by way of the Low Level Bridge was effected in October, 1902. Separating the two dates were several approaches by Edmonton officials to the federal Department of Public Works in search of substantial assistance for a variety of civic-federal bridge-building schemes. One may surmise that a Conservative regime, insulted by Edmonton irascibility on the land office issue, would find it easy thereafter to reject repeated bids for help to close the gap between the two townsites.[19] The situation was worsened in that era of frequent government railway construction subsidies for, in their absence, private enterprises, even the C.P.R., failed to see sufficient incentive to proceed alone, even (or especially) with so short a project.

Fortunately a Liberal regime succeeded the Conservatives at Ottawa in 1896; coincidentally Edmonton's prospects for a railway connection improved. The Edmonton District Railway Company, chartered but inactive since 1895, was revived by new owners (Liberal cabinet minister A. G. Blair, George McAvity and William Pugsley) in time to take advantage of Ottawa's agreement in 1897 to contribute a combined railway and traffic bridge with a minimal civic contribution. While that bridge was not completed before 1900 and picayune bickering prevented the new owners, Mackenzie and Mann, from completing the railway connection for two more years, 1897 can still be represented as a turning point for Edmonton's fortunes. First, the highly symbolic yet practically crucial railway deprivation looked certain to come to an end, a necessary first step in the conversion from dream to reality of local aspirations to rapid urbanization. Second, this would ultimately mean the undermining of destructive competition between rival self-sufficiencies on either side of the river. To be sure, citizens of the respective towns, later cities, maintained a spirited rivalry for fifteen years to come, but on an increasingly good natured level accompanied by the practical manifestations of unity.

During the time Edmonton took to stumble toward the economic and communications mainstream of Canadian development, one agency of social community, the church, made slow but steady progress in the Edmonton settlement. Methodist and Roman Catholic clergymen began very early by providing missionary and occasional educational services in the Fort. Methodists operated from Fort Edmonton as early as the 1840s, albeit with an interlude between 1848 and 1855.[20] Roman Catholic priests passed through the Fort in the late 1830s, presaging the first permanent missionary sent to the Edmonton area in 1842 by Bishop Provencher of St. Boniface, with the apparently reluctant acquiescence of the Hudson's Bay Company to the desires of some of its Catholic Metis employees. Until 1861, however, Edmonton remained in the Roman Catholic scheme of things a mission field of the permanent Lac Ste. Anne mission post. Headquarters moved closer with the construction of the

St. Albert mission on the Sturgeon river by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate in 1857. After 1861 the legendary Father Albert Lacombe took time off from his travelling ministry to scattered Crees and Metis to serve Fort Edmonton as well.[21]

The Methodist presence became secure when the Reverend George McDougall founded the first mission congregation outside the Fort in 1871. Standard congregational developments followed: a church building in 1873 financed in part by the Methodist Missionary Society, by local people (especially Hudson's Bay Company factor Richard Hardisty) and the McDougalls themselves; a Sunday School, and a Ladies' Aid.[22] Anglicans, including Hudson's Bay Company officials, received the services of Canon William Newton, whose "Hermitage" was located seven miles north-east of the heartof present-day Edmonton towards Fort Saskatchewan, an indication of the weakness of Edmonton's claim to centrality during the 1870s and the importance of the Anglican services of the North West Mounted Police at nearby Fort Saskatchewan. The location of the first Anglican church building in 1877 erred in the opposite direction, placed well west of the eventual settlement core on nine acres from Malcolm Groat.[23] In the same vicinity, more land donated by Groat was graced by the new Saint Joachim's Catholic Church, served by members of the Oblate Order, though the first resident cure did not arrive until 1883. The move, with some of the original materials from the chapel within the Fort which had sufficed since 1859, displayed a recognition of the same fact which no doubt helped to stimulate the founding of St. Albert diocese in 1871: this was henceforth intended to be a settled rather than a fur-trading land.[24]

The sale of lots in the Hudson's Bay Company reserve in the early 1880s permitted Catholic Bishop Grandin to purchase a block of land near the Fort for the construction of the third church of St. Joachim in 1886, on the location which became the centre of Edmonton Catholicism for decades to come. Here began the Catholic separate school system, a firm reality by 1888. Here also was built the first St. Joseph's Seminary in 1894. Not far away the "Grey Nuns" of the Catholic orphanage at St. Albert would respond to medical pleas with the first of Edmonton's hospitals in 1895. The Edmonton congregation, approaching 500 strong in the mid-1890s, served as a strong base from which to encourage organization in the newer community of South Edmonton, a firm indication of the coordination which actually existed between activities north and south of the river. Edmonton pastors began offering Mass in South Edmonton homes in the early 1890s; a small building was obtained to serve as chapel and school house from 1895 on for the St. Anthony's congregation and separate school district. Plans for more ostentatious buildings began to come to fruition in 1898.[25]

The focus of the Anglican ministry in Edmonton took longer to settle in place at All Saints. The relative inaccessibility of its earliest westerly location caused an 1882 experiment known as St. Michael's congregation to be situated sometimes in the Edmonton Masonic hall, sometimes in the public school house, before it succumbed to lack of pastoral care in 1888. Small wonder: Canon Newton's time was spread thinly among the diverse peoples of a vast territory in the 1880s. Besides a huge rural mission field and the North West Mounted Police, Newton was expected to minister to All Saints, the centre town mission, and the few folk of South Edmonton.[26]

From a population of about seventy-five in 1892, South Edmonton gained some 1,000 residents in the next half dozen years. An Anglican congregation developed there simultaneously as Edmonton's All Saints found its ultimate location: both developments found their focus in the career of Henry Allen Gray. After the urban ministry of All Saints was separated from the rural work in 1890, it moved through a McKay Avenue site to its relatively central 103rd Street resting place by 1896. At the same time Holy Trinity Church was being organized in South Edmonton on land donated in 1893 by three members of the townsite company: Joseph McDonald, Frederick H. Sache and that indomitable town builder, Thomas Anderson. The clear-cut identification of these three with the fortunes of the southern community is offset by the successive service given by Gray, first to Holy Trinity between 1895 and 1897, then to All Saints and northern Alberta, in a career leading to his consecration as Edmonton's Anglican bishop.[27]

Increasing complexity was signalled by the establishment of the fourth Christian denomination in permanently organized form in 1881. Twenty-nine Presbyterians gathered together in a carpenter shop to arrange the small congregation's first worship meetings, to take place in the loft over John A. McDougall's granary. First Presbyterian Church moved within a year into a church built on land donated by the Hudson's Bay

Company near the heart of the settlement. The ambitions of its members for the growth of both the congregation and the secular community were indicated in the seating capacity for 200 which was installed. By 1887 at least twenty-five families made up the congregation.[28] Such prominent Edmontonians as Frank Oliver, John A. McDougall, Thomas Hourston, Dr. MacKay, W. Johnstone Walker, Phil Heiminck and C. W. Sutter were included among the worshippers, but it was by no means an exclusive, rather a decidedly pioneer congregation. For new immigrants of the 1890s, the visible sign of this was the sizeable contingent of worshippers of mixed nativity. "Some Sundays nearly half the congregation would be half-breeds, many of whom had married white men," asserted choir director Augustus Bridle in later years. It took until 1896 for the congregation to emerge into self-support.[29]

Rev. D. G. McQueen also conducted services in South Edmonton from 1890 on, shifting from an unfurnished apartment in the newly built Strathcona Hotel, through the station rooms of C.P.R. foreman James McDiarmid, the Massey-Harris farm machinery warehouse, the school on Whyte Avenue, the rear of Wilson's store and finally to the hall over Ferguson and Ross' hardware store, all before 1895. For one year, 1892-93, in the midst of this unsettled period, Methodists and Presbyterians cooperated in the construction of a small frame church, alternating in its use either morning or evening of every Sunday. When a full-time Methodist clergyman arrived, his congregation took over the church. In 1895 the South Edmonton Presbyterians found sufficient initiative and funds to build their own frame church.[30]

Thus the early entry of four churches into the pioneer stages of Edmonton's development was matched by the speed with which they organized in South Edmonton settlement after its genesis. By 1898 the Catholic, Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian denominations were solidly anchored in the small communities, while others, such as the Baptists, laid rapid claim to their share of the denominational landscape in the last years of the century. Organized as late as 1893 with nineteen members, First Baptist Church expanded to more than eighty by 1896, when nineteen of them originated a new South Edmonton congregation.[31] As each denomination consolidated its organizational strength, a distinctly fractured community might seem to be the inevitable result, but fraternization and cooperation (as in the example of the Methodists and Presbyterians temporarily sharing a church building) appear for the most part to have overcome potential animosities. Mutual tolerance among diverse segments of the community in the pioneer years is nowhere better demonstrated than in the world of the church organizations, perhaps the most firmly established institutions of the early Edmonton settlement.

The first purpose of the churches was not, however, the fostering of community cooperation, even if they did easily transcend the superficial river division between Edmonton and South Edmonton. Certain basic public services, first among them education, were organized for the community as a whole by the citizens in concert as the need was perceived. Edmontonians created the first public school board in the Territories in

1881. Nor was a loose system of voluntary financial subscription regarded as adequate, in spite of early school enrolments of fewer than thirty. In 1882 the citizens determined, over the objections of the property rich Hudson's Bay Company, to assess a property tax, the source of some local friction until 1884. Clearly sufficient Territorial immigration and settlement then warranted the extension of Territorial government responsibilities to the formation of a general school district system. The addition of a South Edmonton public school district followed in 1892.

Here was the importation of a typically Upper Canadian institution, but none of it prevented those who were able, as the Hardistys were, from sending their children to Great Britain for their education.[32] The Lower Canadian example was followed by the Catholic pioneers, who founded a separate Edmonton school board in 1888, giving some permanence to efforts of the preceding two years to attach a school to St. Joachim's Church. The board could after 1888 count on continuation of the teaching services of the newly arrived Sisters of the Faithful Companion of Jesus, who also began in 1895 to provide teaching services for the St. Anthony's Separate School Board formed on the south side a year earlier.[33] Another Catholic order, as we have seen, provided the sole means by which Edmonton residents acquired hospital services after 1895.

The twin spurs of local ambition and the fear of South Edmonton aggressiveness appear to have driven Edmonton to incorporation in early 1892, but there was more to this move than the simple extension of the activities of the Board of Trade (which had existed since 1889) to the whole Edmonton community of some 700 souls three years later.[34] It is true that the businessmen of the town expected its Council to advertise Edmonton's advantages abroad in pamphlets, newspapers and magazines, but no concerted policy to attract settlers and private enterprises with special concessions and inducements was developed until well after the turn of the century.[35]

Instead, steady but unspectacular growth in the mid-nineties forced Council's attention to the necessity of providing certain basic services for the town at large. With no charter mandate to own civic utilities until 1900, only to regulate them, Council struggled through the 1890s, with a series of inadequate solutions to waste, sewerage, street lighting and municipal transportation problems. Water was supplied by a cumbersome system of private wells and horse-drawn wagons distributing water from the North Saskatchewan to receptacles along the streets of town. Once, in 1893, wooden tanks reserved to hold water for fire fighting purposes were found to be empty when required. One of the first by-laws of 1892 attempted to look after street lighting by granting a monopoly of the service to a private company of local residents known as the Edmonton Electric Light Company. Despite repeated complaints about interruptions in the service and corresponding Council threats to reduce payments to the Company, the first five year contract was followed by a renewal apparently only because adequate alternatives were unknown. Perhaps only the Edmonton Telephone Company, formed in 1893, presented a satisfactory example of a municipal service provided by private monopoly, but even it was destined for municipal takeover in 1903.[36]

The effect of this concentration on common utilities was to escalate the process by which urban residents, unable to do without one another, become dependent on the governing corporation for alterations in their amenities. A similar community orientation may be seen in the development of Edmonton's entertainment from the earliest years. One of the Edmonton Council's first acts was to acquire a municipal park, a square twenty-five acre block in the remaining Hudson's Bay Company Reserve in 1893.[37] Though not a monumental accomplishment, this measure nevertheless stands out as the sign of Edmonton's formal entry into communal recreation.

That process was well underway long before 1893, even if forms of entertainment increasingly distasteful to civilized Edmontonians lingered on. Drunkenness and sporadic debauchery continued to be associated with Edmonton in the 1880s as it had in the 1850s and earlier, although with some difference. In the 1850s it was best (though not uniquely) known in connection with spring fur trading expeditions to the Fort by the Blackfoot and Cree. By the 1880s it was certain permanent residents of Edmonton who provoked the greatest disgust in local clergymen for their lax morality and excessive drinking. Christmas Eve celebrations were alleged to include not only drunkenness but also saloon fights between civilians and the local police.[38]

Among more innocent pursuits, once only dog-racing, especially among the Metis and other Company men, supplemented the regular pastime of horse-racing. During the 1880s, however, these traditional amusements were placed on improving race tracks, while somewhat more genteel and old-country activities such as cricket, association football, lacrosse, lawn tennis and croquet, skating, indoor bowling, dancing and minstrel shows became popular. The influx of eastern Canadian wives was noticeable, probably nowhere so much as in the development of quite regular church socials.

Associated with the organization of recreation were the pioneer sponsoring clubs: a cricket club, a lacrosse club, a baseball club, an athletic association, a Masonic lodge and eventually the Edmonton Curling Club, whose affiliation with the Scottish Royal Caledonian Curling Club typified the standard superimposition of well established external institutions on the raw fledgling community. Church functions are a further example. The semi-military traditions of the North West Mounted Police were in this setting important for more than mere law and order: Mounted Police balls and minstrel shows at Fort Saskatchewan could last through the night and attract as many as 300 revellers. Even the undesirable excitement of the Saskatchewan Metis rebellion in 1885 had a lasting formal recreational effect. As a result of Canadian militia presence and local defence organization, the Edmonton Rifle Association arranged regular marksmanship competitions.[39]

The process continued into the 1890s, more noticeably in the longer-settled northern community than in abruptly rising South Edmonton. The Edmonton Curling Club was by 1896 sufficiently well-supported to build its first covered rink. A tennis club formed in 1891 with only seven members expanded to 20 the following year, enough to finance a tennis court beside the Methodist church. A bicycling club was in full gear by 1893, mainly for excursion fun, although some members were not averse to competing in meets throughout the North West Territories. That modern bastion of sporting civilization, the golf club, arrived as the Edmonton Golf Club in 1896 on a five hole links (soon expanded) at a site below the Hudson's Bay Company's "Big House," which served as an ample clubhouse. In these activities women were immediately or almost at once regular and avid participants.[40]

These signs of permanent organization for entertainment, particularly sporting entertainment, were in the 1890s accompanied by the beginnings of pan-municipal coordination of matters formerly left to ad hoc arrangements. At some point Edmonton acquired a sports committee of sorts, with sub-committees for cricket, football and tennis. Their chief function was to aid in defraying transportation costs to permit competition with individuals or teams in communities outside Edmonton. Sports days became planned spectacles. The May 24 celebrations in 1895 were scheduled for two days by six sports committees; $2,000 in total prizes were offered to winners in contests such as rugby football, rifle matches, trap shooting, horse racing, bicycle racing and track and field events. The passion for system in sport reached down into school ranks. A Bulletin editorial in late December, 1892 rejoiced over the school principal's initiative in organizing extra-curricular soccer for school-boys. It was not only that the game bestowed such physical and moral benefits on the boys as to "make men of them." It was even more important, apparently, that such a system introduced so early would ensure the maintenance of adult clubs when the boys grew up and would "not let them fall through as is too common a thing in Edmonton."[41]

The completion of the Calgary-Edmonton railway to South Edmonton stimulated urban identifications in the realm of sports in two different ways. The first significant inter-community rivalry, hitherto hardly possible to express actively, developed between Edmonton and Calgary. The first recorded baseball game between Edmonton and Calgary teams was played in 1892. Association football (soccer) matches between teams from the rival centres began about the same time. The Edmonton "Thistles" hockey team (named for the rink used after 1892) invited a Calgary competitor to its tournament at least as early as 1895. In hockey, however, the strongest inter-community rivalry to be exploited was not between Edmonton and Calgary, or between Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan, but between Edmonton and the creature of the railway terminal, South Edmonton. Games between the Thistles and the South Edmonton Shamrocks were played on a challenge basis from 1894 until regular "league" competition commenced at this adult level in 1897. Each team also sponsored a junior feeder. The tussle of the close neighbours extended to other sports, but not as formally or tenaciously as in hockey.[42]

In sports, as in certain other areas, the two communities defined themselves by reference to their principal perceived antagonists across the river. But their separateness in the artificial realm of sports was an illusion. In reality the most significant general evolution for the Edmontonians in the 1890s was toward increasing formal organization and the myriad forms of cooperation which went with it. In the years to follow, the sense or feeling of division stimulated by the events surrounding the construction of the Calgary-Edmonton railway would be undermined by all the realities of urban organization which stressed unity. Major events of 1898 would point out emphatically how completely shared were the objectives of the two Edmontons.

Footnotes

1. Alice M. Johnson, ed. and intro., Saskatchewan Journals and Correspondence (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. 26, 1967), 77, fn. 4; Beatrice A. Ockley, "A History of Early Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1932), 3-17; A. S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1973 /1939/, 511, 609, 630-31, 980; E. E. Rich, The History of the Hudson's Bay Company, vol. 2, 1763-1870 (London, Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1959), 208; John MacLean, McDougall of Alberta (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1927), 263. The sources for the available published information about pre-1898 Edmonton are not always obvious or necessarily clear of reason for doubt; much could be done to document a serious history of nineteenth century Edmonton, as a contribution at once to our understanding of the fur trading companies, the Indian peoples, the Metis and the earliest Caucasian residents. In the circumstances I have tried to stick with defensible general observations from the best available published sources, which are not altogether and everywhere untrustworthy, but rather uneven and constantly to be treated with caution.

2. Ockley, "A History," 17-21, 26-28, 94-97; R. A. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton Railway and the Edmonton Bulletin" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 35-36; Morton, A History, 690, 697-703, this last reference for a description of a typical Edmonton annual cycle of the time; Rich, The History, 275, 314-315, 488-489, the last reference for

an indication that Edmonton's central position after 1821 was nevertheless accompanied by economies of management which probably prevented much growth in population.

See also Peter Erasmus, Buffalo Days and Nights, as told to Henry Thompson (Calgary, Glenbow - Alberta Institute, 1976), 36-48 for some aspects of the Fort Edmonton of winter, 1856-7; Irene M. Spry, The Palliser Expedition (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1963), 103-4, 177, 185, 204-5 for observations on the Fort Edmonton of 1858-9, and Marjorie Wilkins Campbell, The Saskatchewan (N.Y., Tor., Rinehard and Co., 1950), 152-175 on the 1840s and 1850s.

3. Ockley, "A History," 78-79, 98, 157; J. G. MacGregor, The Klondike Rush Through Edmonton 1897-1898 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), 7-8.

4. Ockley, "A History," 119-123; Frank Oliver, "The Founding of Edmonton," typescript address, 1921, 6-8: Glenbow - Alberta Institute Archives (hereafter cited as GAI), Calgary; Frank Oliver, "The Founding of Edmonton," Queen's Quarterly, vol. 37, no. 1 (1930), 78-94; J. G. MacGregor, Edmonton: A History (Edmonton, M. G. Hurtig, 1967), 82-84, 89.

5. MacLean, McDougall, 169-170; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 146-149; MacGregor, Edmonton, 89-94; J. G. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1963), 113, 118-120, 144; E. H. MacDonald, Edmonton Fort - House - Factory (Edmonton, Douglas Printing Co., 1959), 174.

6. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 14-29.

7. Christenson, "The Calgary," 26, 39; A. O. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta (Western Canada History Company, 1912), vol. 1, 496-500, 539-545, 600-601; vol. 2, 673-674; John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Co., 1924), vol. 2, 36-41; vol. 3, 60-63; Henry J. Boam, comp., Twentieth Century Impressions of Canada (London, Sells Ltd., 1914), 715, 718-19; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 6-83, 127-128, 143-162, 195-196; John F. McDougall, "John A. McDougall, Trader," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 8, no. 3 (Summer, 1960), 16-26; W. S. Waddell, "The Honourable Frank Oliver" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1950), vol. 1.

8. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 201-202; E. A. Corbett, McQueen of Edmonton (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1934), 34-39; Macrae, History, vol. 1, 520-521, 525-527; vol. 2, 688-689, 726, 859, 879-881, 891-895; Blue, Alberta, vol. 2, 100-102; vol. 3, 48-52.

9. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870 - 1914 (Toronto, Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), 54, 62-63.

10. Ockley, "A History," 238-256; D. G. Embree, "The Rise of the United Farmers of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1956), 5-10, Appendix A, 270 ff.: at least by the late 1880s non-farming Edmontonians regularly figured prominently in Agricultural Society boards of directors.

11. Ockley, "A History," 137-156; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 140-141; MacGregor, Edmonton, 86, 91-92.

12. E. A. Mitchner, "The North Saskatchewan River Settlement Claims, 1883-1884," in L. H. Thomas, ed., Essays on Western History (Edmonton, University of Alberta Press, 1976), 136-138.

13. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 28-38; Zaslow, The Opening, 55-59, 89-90; MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 150-157.

14. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 39-42, 53-65.

15. Ibid., 66-103, 214; John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 1-3, 16.

16. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 177-179; Gilpin, "The City," 1-3, 16.

17. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton," 180-186.

18. The following account is drawn from Ibid., 141-162; E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), 2-11; H. K.-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 11-19. For Blair's involvement in the federal government and railways, see R. C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 9, 152-153, based primarily on information on the Ph.D. Dissertation by T. D. Regehr which has been expanded into the book, The Canadian Northern Railway...1895-1918 (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 66-71 and 164-167.

19. Judging by the lack of success attending Conservative efforts to initiate a partisan newspaper in Edmonton in 1892 and 1893, Edmonton must have been regarded as a Liberal stronghold. See J. C. F. Bown Papers, File 204, GAI.

20. J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 24-31, 45-48; Ockley, "A History," 157, 207-209.

21. Ockley, "A History," 74-77; R. A. MacLean, "The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1958), 7-13, 34-37; Emile J. Legal, comp., Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta (1914), 25; Katherine Hughes, Father

Lacombe (Toronto, Wm. Briggs, 1914 (1911)): J. G. MacGregor, *Father Lacombe* (Edmonton, Hurtig, 1975).

22. Ockley, "A History," 209-211; *1871-1931 Diamond Jubilee of McDougall United Church* (Edmonton, 1931), 10: subscription list, 1874.

23. Ockley, "A History," 215-228; Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 11-22; Eric J. Holmgren, "William Newton and the Anglican Church," *Alberta History*, vol. 23, no. 2 (Spring, 1975), 17-20.

24. MacLean, "The History," 37; Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 18-19.

25. Maclean, "The History," 38-42, 99-102, 119-125; Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 35.

26. Peake, "The Beginnings," 64-68.

27. *Ibid*., 51-63, 68-72; O. R. Rowley, *The Anglican Episcopate of Canada and Newfoundland* (Milwaukee/London, Morehouse Publ. Co./A. R. Mowbray & Co., 1928), 181: "The Right Reverend Henry Allen Gray, D. D., LL.D."; Gilpin, "The City," 35.

28. Ockley, "A History," 229-236; MacGregor, *Edmonton Trader*, 149; Corbett, McQueen, 42-44; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta, and the Klondike, 1881-1925 (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 8ff.; Hugh McKellar, *Presbyterian Pioneer Missionaries in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia* (Toronto, Murray Printing Co. Ltd., 1924), 107-110; R. J. Burton, ed., *"Growth": A History and Anthology of the Synod of Alberta of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (The Synod's History Committee, 1968), 51-52.

29. Corbett, *McQueen*, 74-78.

30. Knox United Church, *The Knox Story 1907-1967...Dating Back to 1891* (Edmonton, 1967), 17-20; Gilpin, "The City," 33-34.

31. C. C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists* (Calgary, The Author, 1939), 129-131; Gilpin, "The City," 34-35.

32. Ockley, "A History," 157-172; Macrae, *History*, vol. 2, 890-891; Taped interview with Mrs. Mary Norman, Miss Shirley Calder, Miss June Calder by Naomi Radford, November, 1967, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (hereafter cited as PAA); Gilpin, "The City," 38-39.

33. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking," 30-31; MacLean, "The History," 38-42, 99-102.

34. MacGregor, Edmonton Trader, 201-205; Corbett, McQueen, 36-37.

35. Dale, "The Role," 22-23, 31.

36. Ibid., 56-58, 65-66, 79-80.

37. Ibid., 119-120.

38. Erasmus, Buffalo Days, 36-48; Hughes, Father Lacombe, 59-61; Holmgren, "William Newton," 21; Peake, "The Beginnings," 34.

39. Ockley, "A History," 257-265, 285-306; John McDougall, Forest, Lake and Prairie (Toronto, Ryerson Press, n.d.), 261-262; Griesbach, I Remember, 89-91; Helen M. Eckert, "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta" (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1953), 37-60; John E. Reid, "Sports and Games in Alberta Before 1900" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 14-15, 23-33, 38-42, 46, 53, 65-67, 86-87.

40. Eckert, "The Development," 49-57; Reid, "Sports and Games," 18-21, 28, 53.

41. Eckert, "The Development," 41, 61; Reid, "Sports and Games," 60-61.

42. Eckert, "The Development," 39-40, 47, 52; Reid, "Sports and Games," 49-50, 71-73; Griesbach, I Remember, 151, 189-190.

SECTION I: EDMONTON IN 1898

Chapter 3: The People.

A municipal census is available for Edmonton proper in 1898, but not for South Edmonton.[1] The specific date of the tally is unknown, although in Edmonton summer is presumably a more favourable time for door-to-door canvassing than winter. The data is restricted in scope. For each household it is possible to discover the number of residents, of males and females, of male and of female boarders, and of Roman Catholics or "others" (most presumably Protestant). Only two groups within the non-Roman Catholic majority were separately identified: thirteen Jews and thirteen "China-men".

Surprisingly, the population of Edmonton (2,212) for that instant in 1898 was almost evenly divided between males and females, the male majority amounting to just 53 percent, and this at a time when a rapid influx was supposedly taking place. At the outset of the prairie settlement boom, it seems, Edmonton's was a relatively stable domestic populace. One might better estimate the extent of this stability by separating out of the total those who might be in some way more or less impermanently settled. Subtracting designated "boarders" and those living above or behind mercantile establishments like stores, livery stables, brickyards and offices; omitting those living in hotels, tents, barrack-like accommodations (N.W.M.P., Salvation Army, Catholic convents & mission) and (with misgivings) the hospital, we are left with the absolute minimum population attached to permanent homes. Let us refer to these units as households: in Edmonton in 1898 there were 375 of them with a population of 1711. That is the second surprise. So far Edmonton's was a residentially stable population. Even those eliminated from consideration, who must include some long-term residents who could not be labelled transients, added only an additional 219 to the enumerated 282 "boarders" for a total of 501, less than one-quarter of Edmonton. The vast majority of Edmonton's early citizens were firmly located.

The population of South Edmonton at the same time, amounting to between 1,000 and 1,200[2], might be regarded as a newer population, most of it arriving after 1891 and the beginning of the Calgary-Edmonton railway. But Edmonton grew at virtually the same rate during the 1890s; perhaps, we are entitled to speculate, South Edmonton's population was as firmly domestic, as firmly set on a household basis as was Edmonton's.

The people were residentially well spread out. (See the map on page 277.) The most crowded streets were still in the centre of Edmonton, with Jasper Avenue pre-eminent. Were one to add the river lot sections of 1st to 10th Streets to their upper, Hudson's Bay Reserve extensions, these too, stretching in north-south parallel lines westward from centre town, showed obvious growth. 1st through 6th Streets (smaller numbered streets being closest to town) were heavily populated, but it was 5th (122) not 1st (97) which was fringed with the largest number of residents. After a break, 10th Street again showed a concentration of population (85) in the vicinity of the Catholic convent and St. Joachim's Mission. Only a few lived as far west as 14th Street. The extension eastward was not as significant as to the west of town centre.

Households were clearly not crowded. In contrast with poorer sections in such older, eastern urban centres as Montreal,[3] Edmonton's population was, at least at the outset, generously separated into individual houses. The 282 "boarders" listed include 91 in hotels, hospitals and immigration halls; subtracting these and adding the remainder (191) to the household population (1711) shows 1902 people spread over 375 households, or an average of barely over 5 per house. The small remainder (310) occupied the numerous shop's quarters, tents, hotels, hospitals, immigration halls and barrack rooms. With a rate of about five residents per household (and probably per house), this little town could boast living accommodations if not grand at least spacious. Even though, judging from the usual evidence in photographs, the frame houses were not extraordinarily large, neither do they seem to have been inordinately small; they could easily accommodate such low rates of population density. There were not even any areas tending in the least to significant variation from the mean.

Nearly one-third of Edmontonians (688) were reported to be Roman Catholic. 5th through 11th Streets on old Hudson's Bay Reserve land showed the heaviest proportion of Roman Catholic population, the only identifiable area of a Roman Catholic majority, logical in view of the 10th Street location of St. Joachim's Church. On those streets nearly 60 percent of the residents were listed as Roman Catholics. In the same vicinity the Hudson's Bay Fort and the surrounding

Flat were almost entirely populated by Roman Catholics. Ignoring several tents in the Hudson's Bay Flat because of their impermanent connotations, we see a concentration of 209 Roman Catholics in a neighbourhood of 320 residents: nearly a two to one ratio in favour of Roman Catholics there neatly reversed the prevailing proportions for the city at large. In addition, while they cannot properly be isolated from the last, in view of the pattern south of Jasper Avenue, most of the goodly number of Roman Catholics living on Jasper Avenue may also have been situated at the west end of the Avenue.

The effect of this concentration was to increase the non-Catholic majority in other parts of the city, widening the gap between the largely Protestant complexion of the rest of town and the Roman Catholic pocket, even though few areas were empty of Catholics. In Edmonton, too, a good proportion of Catholics were French speaking. The division would be expressed in the issue of prohibition. A sign that the French speaking residents were quite conscious of their unique cultural origin was the appearance in 1898 of L'Ouest Canadien, a French language Edmonton newspaper managed by a committee including Rev. J. B. Morin, J. E. Laurencelle, L. J. Cartier and Fred Villeneuve. Villeneuve, indeed, embodied the most vigorous spirit of the effort for cultural survival within the greater Edmonton community. He was simultaneously immersed in the planning for a banquet in honour of Frank Oliver on the one hand, while directing the "musical circle" of the Edmonton St. Jean Baptiste society for a contribution to the St. Jean Baptiste day celebration with branches in Morinville, St.

Albert and Fort Saskatchewan.[4]

The general population was, judging from the names listed in census and directory, overwhelmingly Anglo-Saxon or French in background. Other people of alien ethnic origin were paid very little public attention, except in the special case of "Galicians", in contrast to the detailed introduction published in the newspapers to new district settlers of British Canadian or American extraction. Within the towns, Chinese, Indian and Jewish people received scant newspaper attention but for mention of incidental oddities. That "Hebrew" places of business closed for the "Hebrew New Year" and the day of atonement was a curiosity worth reporting. Information that "a new Chinese restaurant is being opened" carried with it not the identity of the proprietor, but of his neighbour, whose grocery store occupied the adjoining building. The "syllabic characters" of the Cree formed one of the diversions of a winter social at the Methodist parsonage. Only one motive could seem to make the Indian people important as news in normal times: "Chief Ermineskin and his band, about 250 strong, arrived on Tuesday from Bear's Hill reserve to spend their treaty money...."[5]

Two groups were noticed somewhat more. Some German language immigrants attracted attention for seeming to possess "some means". They were present in sufficient numbers for both Presbyterians and Baptists to send clergymen occasionally to preach German sermons in Edmonton and South Edmonton. There were enough too to justify occasional German language newspaper advertisements.[6] The response to Germans was immeasurably more positive than that to the poorly understood "Galicians".

Most of these (hundreds, if not thousands) stopped in South Edmonton only at the "immigration sheds" on their way to homesteads. While they were in Edmonton, though, they made a sharp impact. First, they came suddenly in numbers far too large for the temporary accommodations, described by the Plaindealer as "only suitable for the peasant classes of Europe who have ... occupied it." Whether from disease or the deprivations of the long journey, the immigrant children courted death by the time of their arrival. Several perished in the immigrant sheds during the summer, and smallpox was associated with them. The Galicians could on occasion modify the general antipathy surrounding them by displays of their dances in front of the immigration buildings for large crowds of appreciative spectators, and the spectacle of Greek Catholic worship service conducted once at St. Joachim's Roman Catholic Church for the Galicians attracted a large proportion of the regular Roman Catholic congregation to its unusual congregational singing. But these curiosities scarcely budged opinions that they were, with their meagre financial resources, in the long run absolutely undesirable. "If the thing can't be stopped in any other way," raged the Plaindealer editor with a reference to an earlier epic Edmonton struggle, "we would advise that the land office volunteers of Edmonton get out their shooting irons, send recruiting officers around the country for a day or two and then meet the next train that brings such rubbish, with the firm resolve that they shall not land in this district."[7]

They were described as "a race unaccustomed to the liberties of a free people, cunning, suspicious and the right sort to develop into anarchists," while on the other hand tarred by the same critic for falling prone to "the inducements offered by the Roman Catholic clergy." A tussle in Galician settlements between Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests, so complex it could not have been so soon understood properly by the Plaindealer editor, was thus used indiscriminately to ally the Galicians with the alleged worst aspects of French Canada: "These people now fall in line with the effort to make northern Alberta a stronghold of Rome." Some of the immigrant families must have had to remain in this hostile atmosphere throughout the winter of 1898-99 while their men left them to earn money working at railway construction. The privation they endured was only minimally offset by inadequate government assistance with basic necessities.[8]

How did the established people support themselves? Using the Edmonton and South Edmonton entries in the appropriate Henderson's Directory for the North West Territory as the core information, and supplementing it (or, in some cases, correcting it) from newspaper advertisements and stories, biographical collections, census data and other sources[9], it is possible to arrive at quite a detailed answer. The resulting composite directory contains about 400 entries, which because of some repetition should be pared down to an estimated 350 names of family heads of Edmonton and South Edmonton. Extrapolating from the 375 households shown to exist in Edmonton, there could probably be no more than 575 in both communities together, exclusive of boarders and people living in other more or less impermanent situations. Taking them also into account, it is still clear that the directory would cover a good half of the population, especially that half engaged in advertisable business, trades or professions. The greatest deficiency of the directory is undoubtedly in the realm of labourers, whether of warehouse, factory or office, working for those who are listed. About them, unfortunately, little can be said.

About those who are identified, certain cautious observations may be made, bearing in mind the errors of print, spelling or worse that are the frequent plague of such directories. Foremost among the patterns to be seen is a preponderance of people engaged in ongoing services - professions, trades, retail stores - to the every day transactions of domestic life. Among the professionals, for example, civil engineers, architects and surveyors were a small proportion: three, two and two respectively. The town had not yet begun to build on the expectation of endless rapid expansion. There were, on the other hand, fourteen lawyers and three or four law students attached to their offices: evenly distributed, each lawyer would serve only about 240 residents, men, women and children. Nine doctors, two of them in South Edmonton, would each be responsible for almost 360 residents. The number of teachers escalated with the population, but at the crest of the wave, seventeen teachers were teaching or had taught Edmonton and South Edmonton non-Catholic children. In all about seventy professionals were listed, fully twenty percent, an inordinate proportion of the populace, more in Edmonton proper, fewer in South Edmonton.

Tradesmen too were domestic service oriented. Only one bricklayer was mentioned, just five carpenters. There were, on the other hand, five butchers in Edmonton alone, three more in South Edmonton, among them John Gainer, whose Pioneer Meat Market has since expanded into a major meatpacking industry known by the founder's name. Transportation was a function nearly as much required as food; the travel mode of the day was well served by ten blacksmiths, four of them in South Edmonton. Other than these notable categories mentioned, the remainder of trades were represented by very few practitioners. Sixty-five tradesmen in all covered twenty-one trades: **bakers, barbers,** bookkeepers, a dye maker, foundrymen, harnessmakers and saddlers, machinist, painters, a photographer, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, a taxidermist, teamsters and draymen, wagon makers, watchmakers and pump maker.

Household requirements were purchased in at least sixty different establishments, most of them specialty shops. But no fewer than fifteen general stores operated. Though the brief flurry of the Klondike excitement was no doubt responsible for the creation of some of them, most are recognizably associated with earlier days - names like Gariepy and Chenier, LaRue and Picard, McDougall and Secord, J. H. Morris and company, William Johnstone Walker, Arthur Davies, James McCrie Douglas. Eleven grocery stores dispensed food. Five clothing ("dry goods") stores and two millinery experts provided clothing. Seven coal outlets, four of them in Edmonton, provided energy; eight hardware stores carried common domestic supplies. These basic services occupied 46 (or nearly 60%) of the Edmontons' merchant establishments.

Businesses exploiting the investment field were not numerous. There were but seven real estate agents recorded for Edmonton, another six for the south side. Eight agents sold insurance and three "commodities" stocks. There were only two banks (three at the end of the year). Many in the financial business carried on other activities simultaneously. Nor were construction enterprises over-represented. Only three building contractors were found listed for Edmonton, another two for South Edmonton. Locally produced construction materials, especially of wood or brick, do seem to have been adequately available; five entrepreneurs on the north side were supplemented by two on the south side. Still, massive building seemed a long way off.

On the other hand, hotels (probably for the purposes of opening liquor-licensed premises) abounded. Edmonton had six, South Edmonton no fewer than five and possibly seven: eleven or thirteen hotels for a community the size of the Edmontons must surely have contained excessive capacity in any other year but 1898, had sleeping accommodation been the only objective. Besides hotel dining rooms, there seem to have been seven restaurants, five in Edmonton; six livery stables, again five in Edmonton, and two laundry businesses with the expected Chinese names. These enterprises to provide special comforts far out-numbered the establishments distributing farmers' supplies, particularly farm machinery. Thus, they complete our picture of a people earning their livings serving one another's domestic needs. It is a picture of a citizenship yet barely aware of the opportunities available from the approaching immigration boom, while other basic economic underpinnings like manufacturing were virtually non-existent.[10]

Let us narrow the focus even further, from the slight majority whose heads occupied themselves in the trade-off of respectable non-labouring services, to the eighty who achieved sufficient prominence to have their biographical details recorded in published anthologies at various points in their careers. There were mainly small businessmen and professionals who had been in Edmonton or South Edmonton an average of nine years by 1898. Their average age was thirty-eight, and this fairly accurately reflected the maturity of the majority, for two-thirds had been born after mid-century yet before the creation of Manitoba. Only one-sixth had been born on or before 1850, another sixth after 1870. Edmonton's prominent citizens were not exactly veterans, therefore, nor were they natives to the place, but they were in the prime of life and were well settled in the modest towns. Most had arrived during the 1880s or early 1890s and had come with a decade's adult experience already behind them. These did not seem to be a transient lot.[11]

On the other hand, they had all come from elsewhere to Edmonton. While a good two-thirds were Canadian born, only two were born in western Canada. Nearly half were Ontario born, another quarter natives of Great Britain. None had been born in the United States. Not precisely aliens because of their central Canadian or British origins, they were at the same time westerners only by immigration, although a number had been long enough in the west to identify pretty closely with it.[12] A substantial majority of their fathers were British by birth, as were a good half of their mothers. Only one-third of their fathers were Canadian born, although slightly more of their mothers were. More of the subjects themselves had, of course, experience with life in Canada, where the majority of them were born.[13]

The same Anglo-Saxon predominance is evident in their religious affiliations. Two-thirds of those for whom we have records were either Presbyterians (nearly one-half) or Anglicans (only one-fifth). The notable minority here were Catholics (one quarter); those left over were Methodist or Baptist.[14]

Most of their fathers seem to have had some small means or at least rude independence, but by no means wealth or important standing. Nevertheless, there was a noteworthy absence of urban labourers among them, suggesting that perhaps that was an inadequate basis from which to derive the prerequisite - whether money, education, spirit or ambition - to stimulate attempts at modest entrepreneurship or professional service in a pioneer community as isolated as Edmonton. About forty percent of the fathers appear to have been farmers experiencing some degree of success, usually not immense. Half that proportion operated businesses, most of small scale. Nearly as many were government employees, one-eighth were tradesmen, fewer than a tenth professionals. None were reported to be labourers in urban factories or the mines that provided some of their raw materials, although there were of course some for whom the fathers' occupations were not reported.[15]

The childhoods of our subjects were such as might have been predicted from the foregoing information. Not many moved very far during their childhood from the place of their birth. Nearly half had Ontario up-bringings, one-fifth were raised at scattered locations in the United Kingdom, another quarter at widely separated parts in the Maritime or western or Quebec regions of Canada. A good majority grew up in rural or village settings; only by stretching the category to combine town and city dwellers might one conceivably credit one-third of them with urban childhoods. While there were between the place of childhood and Edmonton significant differences in the broad population densities and the periods of settlement, it is quite possible to argue that for leading Edmontonians the communities from which they came were similar to that at which they arrived, the greatest distinction being the relative ages of the communities.[16]

Almost all these early leaders received some degree of education, although about one-half stopped at various elementary public school stages. Fully one-third went on to universities, usually in professional faculties, or seminaries; one-sixth to instruction in a trade. Not only were their fathers not the urban poor, therefore, but they themselves undertook the western adventure with basic or better educational preparation. Several even enjoyed the privilege of some private school education.[17]

Edmonton was at the time scarcely important enough to attract its citizens directly to it. Most seem originally to have pointed themselves rather more generally and vaguely toward western Canada, occasionally even passing briefly into the United States, prior to discovering Edmonton. We have seen that the great majority of them began and grew up in central Canada or the United Kingdom, virtually none of them in the west; yet more than half spent significant periods of time in western Canada before settling at Edmonton. In their decade or so of earning their livelihoods before arrival at Edmonton they did not, however, drift from one career to another. It was their original occupation that nearly half left to come to Edmonton; few had tried more than two kinds of livelihood, and of course, some were sufficiently young to have had no occupational experience whatsoever. This was a reasonably stable group, an impression no doubt strengthened by the presence in the group of the one-fourth who practised professions.[18]

This discussion has so far left out nearly half the people involved, the wives. Ignored in the records of the time, they can be identified only inadequately by the name and the general place of their origins. About eighty percent were residents of Canada before their marriage date, twenty percent actually in Edmonton, the remainder widely scattered. A few came from overseas, mainly from the United Kingdom.[19]

In Edmonton these families created the network of essential businesses and services for the surrounding agricultural region. About one-tenth were involved in agriculture - related business like flour mills, meat packing plants or breweries. Almost one-fifth successfully plied varieties of general retail trade. One-quarter were professionals, mainly legal, medical and theological experts. Another quarter provided the assorted services of government, transportation, bookkeeping and hotel management. These men did not have to create within the towns the basic industry which sustained them; they came to take advantage of what was developing around them. Indeed, ninety percent of them were providing essential basic services mainly for each other, a population externally justified and supported.[20] Yet even that ninety percent, seemingly far removed occupationally from the countryside, were surviving in Edmonton because of the land resource development in surrounding rural regions. It was a general circumstance and setting with which they were quite familiar before they arrived.

The distinction of this "elite" from the population at large was not pronounced in 1898. It was defined occupationally by the exclusion of tradesmen and labourers, but included virtually all levels of professionals and businessmen, no matter what the scale of operation. It was defined ethnically and denominationally by a preponderance of Canadian Protestants of British ancestry, but did not yet altogether exclude French speaking Catholic representatives of the only other major ethnic - denominational group. The absence of labourers from all accounts bears silent testimony to the most significant social division in the Edmonton community. Even so, there is no clear evidence of drastic inequity in accommodation or household size anywhere in the town. Another clear distinction between British Canadian and French Metis or Canadian language and denominational elements was somewhat ameliorated by the organization of the French speaking group in such a way as not only to preserve itself but also to reduce the threat perceived in the pursuit of cordial relations with English speaking Edmontonians. This was a population reasonably well adjusted to one another, although with signs Galician immigrants would run into opposition if and when they attempted to penetrate the Edmonton community. Otherwise, where there were possibilities of division there were also modifying conditions.

Footnotes

1. Handwritten copy of Edmonton municipal census data by household is held by Edmonton City Archives. No later records are kept longer than ten years.

2. Alberta Plaindealer (AP), September 16, 1898.

3. Terry Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1974).

4. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 30, 1897, June 27 and 30, 1898; AP February 3, 1898.

5. EB, February 7, 14, September 12, 22, 1898; AP, July 22, 1898.

6. EB, May 5 (advertisement for W. Bell Irving), June 16, 20 November 3, 1898; AP, February 3, 1898.

7. EB, May 2, ff., July 18, 25, August 29, September 22; AP, April 13, May 3, 11, 18, July 6, 1898. The term "Galician" was an anglicized term to describe the people of western Ukrainian stock who came mainly from an area called "Halychyna". See Zenon S. Pohorecky and Alexander Royick, "Anglicization of Ukrainian in Canada between 1895 and 1970: A Case Study of Linguistic Crystallization," Canadian Ethnic Studies, vol. 1, no. 2 (Dec., 1969), 144, 154-156.

8. AP, June 8, 22, July 29, December 23, 1898.

9. Information compiled from Henderson's Directory for the North-West Territories, 1898; Municipal census for Edmonton,

1898; EB and AP, many issues for 1898.

10. In 1901 Edmonton sported 8 manufacturing enterprises, likely (judging by the general Alberta pattern) mainly in food processing and building materials, employing 103. Strathcona had 5 such establishments employing 102. The total of 205 employees (no doubt including proprietors) divided by 13 establishments yields an average of 15 per factory, a sign of very little manufacturing development. Canada, Census, 1901, vol. 3, 341.

11. Though this observation may be modified by the fact that transients who may have been prominent would naturally not have been available for later biographical records. Appendix I, Tables A and B.

12. Appendix I, Table C.

13. Appendix I, Table D.

14. Appendix I, Table E.

15. Appendix I, Table F.

16. Appendix I, Tables G and H.

17. Appendix I, Table I.

18. Appendix I, Tables J and K.

19. Appendix I, Table L.

20. Appendix I, Table M.

Chapter 4: Economic Unity.

1897 was a year apparently much appreciated by Edmonton's businessmen and the area's farmers for "a splendid crop, a ready market for everything that the farm produced;" in short, the first fat year following several leaner ones. Yet in late 1897 and the first half of 1898 agriculture, the basis of Edmonton's future prosperity, was briefly overshadowed in the excitement of efforts to capitalize on the far distant Klondike gold rush.

South Edmonton's newspaper, the Alberta Plaindealer, sported a sub-heading dedication to two economic staples, not just one: "Devoted to the Farming and Mining Interests of Alberta." Though recently submerged, the second of these two local interests was widespread long before 1897. The Klondike gold rush of 1897-98 was in fact merely the fever pitch of North American western gold hunting stretching back to the 1840s. As the search moved ever northward, some of the searchers came through and sometimes back to Edmonton. Even the banks of the North Saskatchewan river in the vicinity of Edmonton had for years been studded with staked claims. But although numerous tributaries of the Yukon river had been tested already by hundreds of prospectors in early 1896, it was only after August, 1896 that Bonanza and Klondike Creeks were made commonplace terms by news of astronomically valuable strikes. Another winter went by before Edmontonians first heard of them in May, 1897.[1]

In the latter half of 1897 special editions of the Edmonton Bulletin featured multi-page advertisements entitled

"To The Yukon: The All-Canadian Route," a reference really to two "routes". One was approximately 1,500 miles, mainly overland through Fort Assiniboine, Slave Lake Post, Peace River Landing, along the Nelson, Liard and Frances rivers to the Pelly River. The other, though estimated to be twice or more the distance of the first alternative, permitted a much greater proportion of river travel: overland from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing, then along the Athabasca River, Lake Athabasca, Great Slave River, Great Slave Lake, the Mackenzie and Peel rivers to where a portage would bring voyagers to the Porcupine River.

Edmontonians were not particular about which route enterprising visitors should choose. They placed emphasis on the superiority of either over the Pacific coast journey by contrasting an estimated overland cost of between $425 and $800 with the $1,250 per person alleged to be necessary for the coastal sea route. The orientation of many Edmontonians was obvious: prospectors must be given incentive to travel through Edmonton, then shown the range of merchants who, "buying wholesale and bringing in by the car load can certainly lay down goods here much cheaper than the individual buying retail in the east (or in the United States) and paying way freight rates on the long distance to Edmonton." Every local establishment would be found first-class: flour and oatmeal mills, the pork packing house (the largest in Canada west of Winnipeg!), the creamery, the grocers and especially the wholesale outfitters, beginning with the Hudson's Bay Company's "unlimited resources" and continuing through individual enterprises dating from the end of the fur-trade era.[2]

The winter months were ideal for promoting gold rush business: they were the long months of agricultural dormancy. McDougall and Secord, general merchants, printed a special guide (John A. McDougall had, of course, just completed a term as Edmonton's mayor). The Hudson's Bay Company issued "a very neat and useful map and folder" of the favoured routes. Board of Trade Secretary W. G. Gairdner with civil engineer A. G. Harrison opened an information bureau and produced their own instructive pamphlet and map. The Edmonton Town Council was marvellously active, ordering and distributing abroad 2,000 reprints of the Bulletin special gold rush edition and 1,000 copies of a pamphlet about the Edmonton district compiled by Board of Trade Chairman Isaac Cowie. Council placed a two column advertisement in the Canadian Pacific Railway Carrier for three months beginning in February, cooperated with Montana cities in advertising, paid rail fares to agents "booming" the Edmonton route in the United States, presented travelling entertainers with "stereoptician slides" of Klondikers and Edmonton scenes for use in their "lime light exhibitions" elsewhere and placed a full page advertisement in the "Klondike Official Guide Book" compiled by W. Ogilvie for March publication. The Alberta Plaindealer followed the Bulletin example in March with its own special page describing routes from Edmonton to the Yukon.[3] Even with respect to the overland concept there were competitors to be fought off: newspaper editorials in the first months of 1898 repeatedly skirmished with Saskatchewan newspapers over the relative merits of Edmonton and Prince Albert as starting points to the Yukon.

Expectations of a spring rush through Edmonton to dwarf the modest traffic of the previous fall were bolstered in the winter of 1897-98 by the number of inquiries and reports about Klondike expeditions from the east and the United States. A telegram arrived from Seattle in February, for example, wondering whether accommodation for 2,000 prospectors could be made available in the Edmontons to handle many adventurers already blocked from congested coast routes. In anticipation, freight and passenger facilities at the South Edmonton railway station were enlarged. A number of merchants agitated for and achieved late store closing regulations four evenings a week - on regular train nights and Saturday nights.[4]

The Pacific route continued, however, to be the favoured one among prospectors, thus engaging the greatest critical Edmonton press attention. Here a now familiar economic nationalism could play a convenient part - hence the emphasis on the "all-Canadian" aspect of the tortuous overland trip from Edmonton. The question was

> whether Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg or Tacoma, Seattle and San Francisco do the trade of the Yukon now and in the future; whether the food supplies required shall be drawn from the Canadian West or the Pacific States; whether Canada shall or shall not be at liberty to go and come as she pleases in her own territory? Already there are said to be 30,000 people in the Puget Sound cities awaiting transportation to the Yukon. How much of the millions they have spent and are spending has been added to Canadian trade, although Canadian gold is their object? Are these abstract questions?... The 300 people who have taken the Edmonton routes since August last have spent in Canada not less than $150,000, besides what was brought from the United States and England; and however much traffic by these routes may increase, Canadian trade will be benefitted in proportion.[5]

Needless to say, Edmonton merchants would gladly act as the funnel for the anticipated all-Canadian profits. That was the clear message of the Bulletin's oft-repeated special Yukon gold rush issue. American pressure on Canada to allow U. S. miners 1,000 pounds of supplies into the Yukon duty free was therefore sternly to be resisted on the grounds, to be sure, that the traditional American high protective tariff and stringent alien labour policies militated in favour of the greatest loyalty to things British.[6]

The same spirit worked in other negative fashions. Something so far distant as the prospect of constructing a 150 mile Stikine - Lake Teslin railway line through northern British Columbia in response to the Yukon gold rush drew immediate condemnation by the Edmonton Board of Trade as a "crude, ill-devised and dangerous" proposal. Why? Not altogether because the charter was being secured by Mackenzie and Mann without the bother of having to compete with other tenders, and not even just because the rewards were judged inordinate: "3,750,000 acres of picked gold lands in the richest gold region in the world." Nor, claimed the Board of Trade, was it motivated by anything so crass as "sectional jealousy or a desire to boom the Edmonton route." No, the villains were south of the border: "Canada is not called upon to do anything for the benefit of American miners or American trade," which would allegedly be the only benefactors of a B. C. railway, even as they were the only benefactors of the Pacific gold rush traffic. The demise of the relevant federal bill and the ultimate breakdown of negotiations on the charter was therefore something over which Edmonton businessmen could chortle.[7]

Yet should Americans spend in Edmonton, that was an entirely different affair. Possibly the most admirable local celebration of all was then the Fourth of July display of flags, bands, fireworks and speeches. The local M.L.A., J. H. Ross, and the local M. P., Frank Oliver, "expressed pleasure at the presence of so many Americans aiding to develop the resources of the country" and "sympathy with the United States in the present [Spanish-American] war [in Cuba and the Phillipines], believing that the success of American arms meant the advancement of civilization and liberty." The Americans present were in the end reminded of the nationality of the profiting merchants only by the closing number played by the Edmonton band: "God Save the Queen."[8]

In early 1898 the commercial benefits of inviting American and any other prospectors through Edmonton seemed obvious enough. If not thousands, at least hundreds began the trip to the Yukon in the first half of the year. Though the majority did not persist along the entire route[9], once they had made a start they had already passed the crucial point of exchanging their money for whatever required equipment and provisions they had not brought with them: in this sense the gold rush was briefly a great success for the Edmontons. Parties arrived in Edmonton from points south (especially by train from Calgary) by the twenties, thirties and even by the nineties on every train in March and April. Their temporary homes would be hotels, boarding rooms, shanties, up to sixty tents and teepees, while their gratifyingly single-minded activity was the loading of flat sleds, pack horses, or other conveyances with locally purchased goods. Real estate was in heavy demand, not necessarily only for speculative purposes, but also to enable entrepreneurs to enlarge or build new business premises from which to take advantage of the expanding market. The business portion of the town pressed westward through the bush toward the Hudson's Bay Company post.[10]

Local specialists like South Edmonton Mills did a roaring business in staples like flour, oatmeal and grain for horses. The Edmonton and Athabasca Stage Company got the contract for 1898 from the (probably overloaded) Mackenzie River Navigation Company to transport passengers from South Edmonton to Athabasca Landing. Hay prices soared. R. B. Bisset had by mid-March already manufactured and sold some 300 pack saddles. Even the churches catered to a new demand, at least one church in evident expectation of its own benevolent profits on the Klondikers' return. The Methodist Rev. Joshua Dyke advertised a Sunday sermon about "The Manly Klondiker," the argument of which began rather confusingly, "that the best things in this world are intended for the manly man and the womanly woman," but continued that "God Almighty who placed the gold in the mountains, through the valley and along the rivers desires that its attainment shall elevate and not degrade humanity." Thus, the message: "Let your charity not only express itself in the far north, but when you have made your pile, remember the benevolent institutions at home."[11]

The profits of the many are aptly proven by the willingness of a few to participate in the most illusory ventures. Henry D. Smith invested "considerable sums of money" in the

"Saskatchewan Metal Extracting Works: promoted by one W. H. Roughsedge.

> I advanced to him considerable sums of money, and have put up all money expended on the works, and all that has been paid out for black sand (that Mr. Roughsedge purchased after he had sampled and was supposed to have assayed) on the distinct understanding and repeated assurance by Mr. Roughsedge that he had a secret process by which he could extract gold and any other precious metals in large and paying quantities from the said sand, after all that was possible had been taken out by the miners....

Nothing whatever, unfortunately, was attempted, let alone successfully completed, at the "Works".[12]

By May the rush, Edmonton version, had perceptibly slowed; by the summer's end even the Bulletin acknowledged that all moderately rich claims in the Yukon were long since fully occupied. The long term effect of the Klondike rush on Edmonton may have been to focus the attention of a growing tide of agricultural settlers on the surrounding district, where in 1898 good homestead land could still apparently be obtained forty miles or more from the town, while three dollars per acre would purchase closer Canadian Pacific Railway property.[13] By mid-April, a different kind of rush was well underway, 325 or more permanent settlers arriving in one three-week period, necessitating much more accommodation than the South Edmonton immigration depot could provide. In excess of 1,000 immigrants had arrived to settle in the district in 1897, half from the Austrian province of Galicia, one-third from the United States (mainly ex-Canadians or Europeans in transit) and one-tenth from Russia. These figures were to be dwarfed by the 1898 record, indicating a new rush through Edmonton to exploit a more enduring resource than gold: land.[14]

The response of Edmontonians to agricultural immigrants, as to the gold seekers, was influenced by their anticipation of the ability of the newcomers to spend locally. Particularly promising were such spectacles as the excursion through Edmonton of some 170 Wisconsin and Michigan press representatives conducted by a member of the Canadian Immigration Department's press section. By way of contrast, the arrival of "Galicians" by the hundreds brought sharp press criticism. The first large group of 493 in May was said to have $18,000 among them, a sum small enough for the Plaindealer to make "comment [briefly] unnecessary." The Bulletin was even more oblique: "Immigration Agent Sutter states that they are the best class of Galicians that have arrived here yet. Between them [sic] they have 241 pieces of baggage." Reports of 1,500 Galicians to follow burst this nice reserve like a spike. "Is this fair land to be given to the off scourings of humanity?" The local Liberal M. P., Frank Oliver, argued in the House of Commons that the Austrian government was getting rid of its most destitute burdens, who would in western Canada require wage labour employment (which would not be sufficiently available) or starve. Most alarming of all to one journalist, "white settlers" on their way to being comfortably ensconced in new permanent houses would surely prepare to leave rather than face life "in the midst of these filthy and untutored beings."[15] Whatever happened to the Galicians, displacement of their richer predecessors was an unendurable prospect to established Edmontonians.

Actually there was little sign through the remainder of 1898 that there would be an end to the unprecedented prosperity. If "the ranks of objectionable immigrants in this district" were regularly swelled with carloads of "Galicians", entrepreneurs could even be found who were happy about that. An agent of a Crow's Nest Railway contractor found them a good reservoir of destitute and desperate labourers easily enticed to leave their families for a season of work on mountain railway construction. The alien immigrants in the city during the winter of 1898-99 provided the single (though considerable) visible reproach to those enjoying their good fortune. Many experienced hardship serious enough to cause them to beg a few provisions from government offices. Here was apparent evidence, of a hard, practical variety, that immigration policy of the day was wrong for all concerned.[16]

Expanding numbers were for Edmonton's leadership the sure proof of progress. The 627 homestead entries processed at the Dominion land office before the end of August caused unbounded delight. A third bank (the Merchant's bank) supplemented the established Imperial and Jacques Cartier branches. Dealers in agricultural machinery reported double or more the sales of the preceding year, which had itself been blessed by good crops. For Board of Trade President C. Gallagher, summing up 1898 involved only one dismal number, and even it reflected the kind of neglect caused by inordinate individual reward: he had to deplore the meagre Board of Trade membership figure of twenty-five.[17]

Hugely increased numbers, of course, allowed the more than 1,000 inhabitants of South Edmonton to inflate the importance of their own separate community against that of Edmonton, despite the latter's population advantage. When tenders were called for the construction of the bridge superstructure over the North Saskatchewan river, the threat of greater economic unity for the Edmontons sparked immediate resistance in South Edmonton. According to the Plaindealer's illogical though nonetheless heartfelt argument,

> There are two trade centres in this electoral district. One is Edmonton, the other is South Edmonton. It has been said that their interests are identical and to a certain extent that is true, but it is a fact that for trading purposes the country tributary to one is entirely different to [sic] the country tributary to the other. The farmers north of the river truly come to South Edmonton to market their grain, but they go back to Edmonton to trade, and on the other hand farmers south of the river seldom go north to trade.[18]

To observers anywhere but in South Edmonton, these patterns must surely have suggested, once the bridge was completed, increased interrelationship and sharing of currently separated special services. The Edmontons would be economically a unit.

Of one thing all were certain. The immediate economic future of the Edmontons, despite the brief impetus of the gold rush, would be tied to agriculture. The fall's exceptionally productive grain harvest bolstered claims for the superiority of "northern" (actually central) Alberta over Southern Alberta as a grain growing region while quelling remaining harsh images of the more northerly climate. The Bulletin's year end satisfaction with 1898 omitted any mention of the illusory gold rush in favour of forthright delight with the prospects of agriculture as the staple economic base of Edmonton's future.[19]

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 23, 1897; Alberta Plaindealer (AP), December 30, 1897; J. G. MacGregor, The Klondike Rush Through Edmonton 1897-1898 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1970), 7-21.

2. EB, Dec. 16, 1897; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 22-31, 38-43.

3. EB, January 6, 20, 31, February 14, 28, March 3, 10; AP, March 16; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 38.

4. AP, February 3, 10, 17, 1897.

5. EB, January 6, 1898.

6. AP, March 16, 1898.

7. AP, February 10 and June 15, 1898; EB, March 7, 1898.

8. EB, July 7, 1898.

9. For estimates of the number making a start and those carrying through, see MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 87, 233-36; EB, March 3, April 4, May 19, June 16, June 23, 1898. MacGregor's optimistic calculation is that about 1,500 began from Edmonton in 1897-98 and over 700 made the entire journey, though almost all were too late.

10. EB, March 3, April 14, May 19, 1898; AP, May 18, 1898.

11. AP, March 3 and 16, 1898; EB, January 27, February 10, 1898.

12. AP, April 20, 1898. On the widespread Edmonton belief that quantities of gold were in the black North Saskatchewan River sand, see J. R. Schrumm, "Valley of Gold," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 22, no. 4 (Autumn, 1974), 14-25.

13. EB, February 28, May 19, October 24 and 27, 1898; AP, August 5, 1898; MacGregor, The Klondike Rush, 251.

14. EB, January 13 (information from C. W. Sutter, Immigration Agent), April 11 and 14, 1898; AP, May 3, 1898.

15. AP, May 3 and 18, 1898; EB, May 7, July 25, 1898; Canada, Journals of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada (1898), Appendix 3, Report of the Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, 229, 231.

16. AP, June 8, July 6 and 13, December 23, 1898.

17. EB, July 7, September 8, December 26, 1898; AP, December 30, 1898.

18. AP, August 26, September 16 and November 18, 1898.

19. EB, January 2, 1899.

Chapter 5: Formal Municipal Organization.

The premier urban institution dedicated to civic unity must of course be the elected municipal council, but it operated in the Edmonton of 1898 with considerable help from key voluntary organizations whose objectives reflected a collective urban will or promoted the collective urban welfare. In 1898 Edmonton's Council was not concerned with the entire range of problems later believed to require corporate action. It was not even the agency promoting growth in the city: the Board of Trade was expected to do that. And matters of human welfare among the less fortunate in the city were certainly left to the charge of volunteers, most notably in the Women's Hospital Aid Society.

Formal municipal organization was in fact not very substantial. South Edmonton would not even be incorporated (with the new name, Strathcona) until 1899. Edmonton, with its earlier population growth, became a town in 1892; but in neither case was the ultimate cause of incorporation popular pressure about common service problems so much as it was the arrival of the Calgary-Edmonton Railway in the rival's centre. One of the disadvantages for Edmonton's town Council was its visibility and accessibility: the complaints of individual citizens about matters councillors were not very eager to deal with had often to be sidetracked. Early in 1898 the most persistent and embarrassing representations came from the Women's Christian Temperance Union and like-minded individuals who sought the removal of houses of ill-repute offering the services of prostitutes. When reference to the federal jurisdiction and the vague civic bylaw on the subject did not quieten petitioners, Council turned to the tactic of relegating the controversy to the oblivion of a committee for study.[1]

The rather mundane business of providing basic services was in the circumstances conducted with the aid of quite a primitive municipal organization. Very few officials assisted in handling civic affairs: a town clerk (who, in his correspondence, also became town booster to interested outside entrepreneurs),[2] legal and financial counsels, town constable and police officers, medical health officer, "town scavenger" and civic poundkeeper. Provisions for hospital and fire fighting services were left to voluntary organizations, although they would, it is true, seek some of their operating funds from Council. In the main, though, the town Council served to respond to common environmental problems, to pursue and display residents' common objectives with corporate strength and to provide the forum for rival aspirations to civic leadership.

A distinct air of reluctance characterized the way Council groped for solutions only after the firm implantation of problems. Sanitation is a good example. In March, Methodist clergyman Joshua Dyke complained of the need for a well-organized spring cleaning, especially because of the year's extraordinary influx of transient people and horses: in all, he thought, prime pre-conditions for disease epidemics. Whether or not because of this specific expression of concern, the medical health officer was shortly instructed to speed the removal of refuse from town corrals and to report on the sanitary conditions of such food dispensaries as butcher shops.

But of course the immigration was in March only beginning. In April Council solicited applications for the position of town scavenger. Dr. Braithwaite's report recommended constructing a sewage drainage system and charging property owners for property clean-up conducted by town officers because of the lack of private initiative.

A drainage system to overcome the difficulty posed by the high river banks proved temporarily impossible to find. For the time being this and all other difficulties with waste remained frustrating. Anti-garbage dumping ordinances were issued and posted, and the town constable was ordered "to see that all premises are cleared of waste material and inflammable matter." The problem of filth had come to be a full-fledged regular aspect of Council deliberations. At the end of the year, in an indication of the expansion of the refuse, the medical health officer found it necessary to recommend the establishment of a new nuisance ground.[3] It looked as though Council would never catch up with increasing requirements in waste disposal.

The burgeoning town's preoccupation with simple environmental difficulties is easy to illustrate. There were frequent stories of runaway horse teams on both Edmonton and South Edmonton streets. A civic poundkeeper had to be appointed in Edmonton in April. Streets, especially main streets, regularly filled with irritating small stones. Dirt-surfaced residential streets, especially in a town of Edmonton's temperature extremes, constantly required grading.[4]

Problems originally small in magnitude were exacerbated by Council's apparent propensity for half measures. The "fire, water, and light" committee was noted for its failures. Water was still being provided in the waterman's cart or in the water barrel which constituted the public drinking fountain; plans for a water works system progressed only to the stage of investigating inducements which might be offered to potential contractors. Lights were placed only individually in scattered locations, as, for example, at both terminals of the river ferry. The volunteer fire brigade had only primitive equipment: if the "steamer" (supplying water) and the "chemical" proved inadequate, the only resource was a waterman's cart.

Prominent citizen and ex-mayor Matt McCauley lost his livery and feed stable and T. P. Cairney his blacksmith shop to fire in August. The fire prevention system on this occasion was an embarrassment, the hose of the "chemical" bursting and leaking in several places while it proved to take some time after the exhaustion of the chemical effort to initiate the steam process. The fire brigades asked Edmontonians to believe that chemical leaks did not impede efficiency, and that steam pressure would always require time to develop from cold water. It was not long, nevertheless, before the brigade undertook a special practice session, though it caused little if any improvement in fire suppression. In September a frame building housing Armstrong Bros. grocery store and the residence and warehouse of building owner G. Hutton burned to the ground. Such catastrophes still did not convince Edmonton property owners of the efficiency of the only alternative presented. The offer of a new fire protection system came in May from the private enterprise known as the "Waterous Company" and was rejected.[5] At least a public, voluntary system's costs could presumably be controlled.

Environment and property: to such concerns did Council address its attentions. Social assistance was simply not considered a municipal responsibility; people looked after themselves. Where they did not, voluntary or private agencies might step in: the Edmonton Hospital Aid Society to help the needy obtain required hospital care - with a limited Council grant; the "Edmonton Employment Office" for labourers and domestic servants seeking work.[6] Only in situations in which everyone, regardless of social standing, was likely to be affected, did Council deal with people. The medical health officer's principal concern, for example, was the possibility and prevention of epidemic disease. The chairman of the "board of works" was authorized by municipal by-law to "inspect and secure" buildings used for "public amusements or assembly." The new covered skating rink, for one, had to be inspected and improved to meet structural safety standards.[7]

Education, another universal or near-universal service, at least to the point of literacy, was not supervised by town Council, but by two other representative bodies, the public and separate (Catholic) school boards within the framework of their Territorial organizations. Children enrolled in the Edmonton Public School (119 in January, 289 by November) would ideally be offered by the half dozen or so teachers only pure and unvarnished academic instruction; most other developmental matters, according to Territorial School Superintendent D. J. Goggin, were the parents' own responsibilities. For Goggin, these could be enumerated: clothing, neatness, cleanliness, punctuality, manners, citizenship, the value of money, and religion. Parents were also expected by Goggin to maintain vigilance over the school's physical condition and support teachers' discipline.[8] The teacher specialists paid from public funds were obviously meant to supply only the one service to children that parents presumably could not: a proper, standardized academic training. Urban, if not Territorial, homogeneity went together with a certain minimal standard of learning.

Staged community festivities were also objects of official interest. The extent of Council's participation in the planning demonstrates acceptance of the power of these to engender civic unity. Arrangements for Dominion Day celebrations were initiated in late May. Two hundred dollars was granted to organize spectator entertainment by band music, track and field competitions, horse and bicycle racing and team sports. Council evidently purchased and maintained the instruments for the civic band which performed at such functions. Covering two days, the spectacle apparently attracted some 4,000 onlookers.[9]

There were reasons for public displays of civic unanimity. In 1898 one of the basic divisions in the ranks of Edmonton businessmen, and even the populace in general, became a public controversy in connection with an effort to provide one more public service: a civic market square. The issue, which had been aired for some years already, appeared on the surface to be the relative merits of two potential sites, one of which the city might purchase for the market square location. In fact, however, there was much more to it than that - though property and commercial advantage were indeed the elements arousing the passions.

The first offer was made in September by real estate agent P. Heiminck: 56 feet of Jasper Avenue frontage for a price of $12,000. Two supporters on Council, Joseph Henry Picard and Walter Humberstone, moved Council offer $11,000, but the majority favoured dropping the offer to $8,000, which Heiminck declined to accept. Picard and Humberstone felt obliged to explain themselves in a letter to the Bulletin editor, pointing out the several years' standing of the market square problem and the "central" location Heiminck's property would have. Besides, any Council purchase order would be subject to ratepayers' approval.[10]

In November, St. George Jellett offered a number of adjoining lots somewhat to the east of Heiminck's property for a total price of just over $4,500, the offer slightly marred by the necessity to negotiate expropriation of an impinging lot from another party not at that time available. Picard and Thomas Hourston immediately moved to file the offer on the argument that the property's much smaller size was insufficient for a market site, but their motion was lost in favour of one appointing a three-councillor committee of investigation. A subsequent special Council meeting adopted the committee's report recommending acceptance of Jellett's offer, James Ross,

K. A. McLeod and A. E. Jackson for, Picard and Humberstone against. Even as a proposed market site by-law (to borrow $4,500 to purchase Jellett's offered lots) was submitted to Edmonton voters, Picard announced his resignation from Council in protest. He alleged the decision was reached by "railroad" procedure without debate. Heiminck contended that size limitations on Jellett's lots would hamper expansion, for surrounding property would be costly. Picard introduced a third possibility (besides Heiminck's and Jellett's) which had apparently been available: a middle-sized property from Humberstone. Even it, Picard pointed out, had three times the space of the Jellett property at the cost of $1,000 less. If Heiminck's property (twice the size of Humberstone's) was not to be bought, then Humberstone's, not Jellett's was the only alternative worth considering.[11]

Later a town meeting called mainly to discuss the issue revealed that the property offered through Humberstone had actually come from Heiminck. This could not obscure Picard's protest that the cost per acre of Jellett's land would be three times that of Heiminck's original (largest) property. At this point, in early December, another heated exchange intervened, between Picard and Mayor Edmiston, on the subject of a different property purchase negotiation. By the time the market by-law came to the voting test, divisions were vividly clear. Only male owners of property valued in excess of $400 were allowed to vote, severely limiting the electorate, probably to about 150. Of these especially interested prosperous citizens, a good majority voted for the acquisition from Jellett, but the necessary two-thirds majority was not obtained, thus defeating the measure.[12]

What caused the division? Was it simply a matter of rival entrepreneurs seeking personal advantage? Not likely, according to developments in the municipal elections which followed immediately. Picard, with John A. McDougall, nominated Cornelius Gallagher for the mayorality. In opposition, the group opposed to Picard _et al_ in the market site debate (in this case K. A. McLeod, A. Taylor and James Ross) nominated incumbent W. S. Edmiston. Judging by the list of Council nominees and their sponsors in relation to their market site issue alignments, one might guess that an unofficial Edmiston aldermanic slate consisted of A. Brown, A. E. Jackson, K. A. McLeod, James Ross and R. Hockley; the Gallagher slate of N. White, Richard Secord, J. H. Picard, Thomas Hourston and P. Heiminck. Neither K. W. MacKenzie's nor J. D. Clarke's nominations gave easy hints of one allegiance or the other, but Clarke, in any case, withdrew his nomination before the election. Edmiston defeated Gallagher handily, by nearly a two to one margin; McLeod, MacKenzie and Jackson topped the councillors' polls, receiving two years terms of office; and Picard, Brown and Secord won one-year mandates. That would, if the previous guesses are correct, give Edmiston at least three council supporters against at least two detractors.[13]

The editor of the Edmonton _Bulletin_ offered an analysis both before and after the election which linked the election campaign with the market site controversy. Particularly in the mayoralty contest, he suggested, "the same forces were arrayed against each other" as in the market by-law campaign, in which the real issue had been to use the market site to establish either a western or an eastern focus for Edmonton's centre of business. While there were not enough easterners to muster the necessary two-thirds majority to pass the market by-law there were plenty to ensure Edmiston's mayoral victory. Property values and potential profits were undoubtedly at the core of the matter, but not with respect to the potential market lots alone. The larger struggle was an example of significant strain on municipal unity, a test of the formal institutions designed to contain and resolve its like. Given the basic nature of the market site dispute, it could not long remain dormant. The first Council meeting following the elections was presented with an offer by Heiminck and two partners of nine lots on Queen, Rice and Elizabeth streets for a $3,900 price.[14] Once more the disagreement passed into a new year.

Edmonton town Council was a representative institution devoted to the goal of cooperation to tackle common problems of environment, property, protection and civic promotion. The last, as we have already seen, was in 1898 easily understood: a matter of taking the fullest advantage of the gold and land rushes through Edmonton. The first two were perplexing in the extreme, great success proving temporarily elusive. Finally, there was, in the prosperous general atmosphere, room for internal bickering in attempts to secure special economic advantages within the town.

Although leading South Edmontonians began in 1898 to consider incorporation specifically in reaction to the news that a railway connection was certain to cross the river to the north side and raise Edmonton's "ambitions to dwarf South Edmonton," other practical reasons for corporate organization on the south side were by this time easy to recite. Public health and sanitation might be regulated in ongoing programs. The problem of a "nuisance ground" originally placed too close to the residential centre for either public health or odour-free air, would be swiftly dealt with and subsequently kept under control. With incorporation efficient fire protection could be organized, "disgraceful" sidewalks on the main business streets cleaned and improved (so as to cease driving away interested investors) and an aspect of confidence in the community's prospects shown to the world.[15]

As it was, spring cleaning was left to volunteers and waste disposal was regulated only to the extent that the South Edmonton constable would make good his threat of legal prosecution if "manure heaps and other nuisances" were not removed from private properties by prescribed deadlines.[16] The local Territorial Statute Labour Overseer, Lawrence Garneau, made his summer project for 1898 the "renewal" of Whyte Avenue, South Edmonton's main street. Robert McKernan eventually gave his permission for residents to use an enclosed corner of his nearby farm as a suitably distant location for the dumping of manure. But when special difficulties arose which were not taken in hand by volunteers in this unusual, Klondike-mad year, there was little to do save vent one's petulant anger. "A constable for night duty is badly needed in South Edmonton," wrote the Plaindealer's editor, "to keep in subjection the drunken rabble who infest the streets and make the night hideous with their yelling, howling and fighting." With respect to a different type of population altogether, there were also "too many curs of low degree" rending the night peace with howling and scrapping, most without the benefit of any lawful guardians.[17] There was no local representative body to respond to such complaints.

The general apprehension over the effect of a railway connection with Edmonton was strengthened by the results of the November election to the Territorial Legislative Assembly. The first, mid-October public meeting to open the campaign revealed three candidates, south-sider Alexander C. Rutherford, and Edmontonians Matthew McCauley (the incumbent) and H. H. Robertson. The first two were from the start the principal antagonists. Rutherford's nomination was filed by South Edmontonians; McCauley's and Robertson's by Edmontonians.[18]

That the contest was to be determined purely by the river division of the population was soon amply demonstrated. A rather uncontrolled poll taken at an Edmonton Catholic ladies' bazaar revealed the local favourites: McCauley's 750 votes and Robertson's 516 contrasted sharply with Rutherford's 138. On the other hand, Plaindealer editorials attacked McCauley's candidacy chiefly by plundering old Regina Leader reports for examples of gaffes in his past legislative speeches. Since Rutherford's chief asset was his identification with South Edmonton, the Plaindealer was forced to ignore his recent arrival (1895) in favour of describing his diversity of local interests: as farmer, land investor, gold mine investor and lawyer, he had a hand in all the local resources, whose other investors he would presumably be well able to represent.[19]

The final vote by accredited male voters conformed to the predictable pattern: 582 for McCauley, 498 for Rutherford and only 112 for Robertson, the allegiances divided by the river. The riding took in more than simply Edmonton and South Edmonton, but the river division worked for outside areas as well. For Stony Plain, Edmonton and Beaver Lake together, the results showed 509 votes for McCauley, 97 for Robertson and a mere 50 for Rutherford. In contrast, Clover Bar, South Edmonton, Mill Creek and White Mud nearly tipped the balance in Rutherford's favour, giving 444 votes to him and only 68 and 14 to McCauley and Robertson respectively. "The result," sniffed the Plaindealer, "but demonstrates what we have asserted time and again that the district should be divided by the river."[20] The disadvantage of South Edmonton aspirants to the legislature, this election seemed to indicate, was that their supporters would always be outnumbered by those of their north side competitors.

Although only half as populous as Edmonton, South Edmonton included more than 1,000 residents in 1898, another apparent justification - sufficient size - for incorporation. On November 18 the Plaindealer elucidated the various natural economic and political cleavages which were alleged to warrant separate incorporation from Edmonton. That very evening Postmaster Wilson

> received notices from the Commissioner of Public Works in Regina, for posting in conspicuous places in South Edmonton, to the effect that unless a petition of

> objection, signed by two-thirds of the voters of the place were received within 30 days after November 20th, 1898, South Edmonton would be proclaimed a village by the Lieutenant Governor in Council under the Village Ordinance of the North West Territories with the name of the post-office in its limits.[21]

Apparently on the verge of realizing their ambitions, South Edmonton businessmen were still dissatisfied. A public meeting of about 150 "of the largest property holders in town" (or, in other words, virtually all ratepayers) took place November 22 in Ross Hall. The debate, with A. C. Rutherford in the chair, pitted a distinct minority disclaiming incorporation against an eager majority favouring it. Thomas Anderson "instanced the town of Edmonton with its debt of over $100,000 as an example of an overtaxed community as a direct result of premature incorporation," but the majority agreed with Robert Ritchie, who argued for a show of civic confidence by a bold step to incorporate, not as a village with its virtual one-man control, but as a town instead. The result was the circulation of a petition against village incorporation, with the understanding that a campaign would begin for town incorporation. A committee of five was elected to report to a second meeting detailed proposals for area boundaries and names. Thus began the drive which would culminate in 1899 with the creation of the town of Strathcona despite the continued opposition of Anderson and others who attempted to kill it with a counter-petition against the measure.[22]

Here then was the formal basis for a "struggle" within greater Edmonton which was somewhat similar to that between "eastward" and "westward" leaning Edmonton businessmen north of the river. With future economic prospects brighter than ever they had been, the leading northern and southern occupants of what was essentially a single urban community could afford to divert themselves temporarily with a contest to determine which would have the major business centre. The separate incorporation of Strathcona in 1899 ensured this issue would be rather longer lasting than was the Edmonton market square argument but even it could be peacefully resolved by 1912. Ironically, the institution created specifically to press for South Edmonton primacy was the very one which ultimately would permit an orderly capitulation once the "battle" proved hopelessly lost. Meanwhile incorporation allowed South Edmonton leaders an honest lunge at their ambitions without the subterfuge suspected in the other, market square controversy.

Interestingly, the opportunity to express cross-river rivalry in terms of traditional Canadian political alignments was not exploited. It is undoubtedly true that of the two parties represented locally, the Liberal and the Liberal-Conservative, the former dominated. The Liberals had newspaper support from the highly partisan Bulletin, whose publisher to 1898, Frank Oliver, was the Member of Parliament for the area, while the Conservatives had been unsuccessful since 1892 in efforts to create and maintain an opposing organ.[23] The Edmonton Liberal Association executive committee of ten did meet quarterly, and special urgent meetings to discuss "important questions of state" did occur. Yet the legislative election discussed earlier did not clearly oppose Liberal against Conservative. The two leading contenders appear both to have been more or less Liberals, even though their support was divided along local geographical lines. The Conservative candidate, H. H. Robertson, finished far behind. In fact, the purpose of a visit by Conservative M. P. Nicholas Flood Davin in November was apparently to revitalize conservative party organization. The admittedly hostile Bulletin reported as a "reorganization" meeting the one which elected the indefatigable Cornelius Gallagher president.[24] These party lines were most evident only when federal elections occurred every four years or so.

The two voluntary institutions in which Edmonton area businessmen participated earnestly would again seem on the surface to have been divided by the river, but each proves on closer examination to have represented both sides. The South Edmonton Agricultural Society was of course dedicated to exploitation by local farmers and businessmen alike of the area's greatest natural resource. The membership early in 1898 was over 150, including South Edmontonians, Edmontonians and area farmers, an impressive total in contrast to the Edmonton Board of Trade's 25 or so. The Agricultural Society boasted 17 directors alone, besides 4 executive officers.

Whatever its impact on the economy of the region, the Society also provided several community recreational services to the Edmontons. The South Edmonton Agricultural Society grounds, scene of many formally organized picnics and other summer festivities, including that for the Edmonton area at large on May 24, required maintenance. In this small, intimate community so dedicated to the Society's welfare, small financial crises could be handled in a flash informally. "President

McKernan...took a run around town yesterday to secure funds by private contribution to sink a well on the fair grounds. In a few minutes he had more than enough." Even other methods of raising money for desired improvements were recreationally pleasant for South Edmontonians. The construction of stands on the Society's grounds was made possible by such events as the spring "Calico Ball and Box Social".[25]

The major event of the year for which the Society was responsible was the South Edmonton Agricultural Fair, in 1898 held on October 4 and 5. Many of the activities were, as for May 24 and July 1 celebrations, standard athletic and horse racing spectacles, but the focus of the fair was on the exhibitions of agricultural produce and stock. It was considered sufficiently important to be attended by special guests: North West Territories Premier Frederick Haultain and Public Works Commissioner J. H. Ross. The Fair was no ordinary local holiday celebration, then, but the means by which the whole Edmonton area celebrated its agricultural fortune together and advertised it to the rest of the prairie west. Planning for the annual event began as early as February.[26]

In reverse, there were organizations technically designated by the term, "Edmonton," which in reality included members and interests of the South Side. South Edmonton had, for example, no Board of Trade. That standard North American institution was represented in the area solely by the Edmonton Board of Trade. The basic purpose of this occupation - oriented businessmen's association was to promote the requirements of the area's multifarious business interests, insofar as they coincided. This might mean sponsoring petitions to the federal government: to stop the projected Stikine-Teslin railway in B. C. in favour of developing transportation to the north from the Edmontons, or for vastly improved mail service. It might mean advertising the Edmonton route to the Klondike among prospectors unable to get out of Seattle or Vancouver because of the crush of expectant gold seekers. It might mean honouring a local politician, M. P. Frank Oliver, for his efforts on the Edmonton area's behalf, with a lavish formal banquet and public demonstration. Board of Trade organizers managed to bring together leading local figures of the town Council, the Legislative Assembly, the Edmonton and South Edmonton Liberal Associations, the South Edmonton Agricultural Society and several other organizations for this tribute. A public holiday was proclaimed and the brass bands of Edmonton and South Edmonton contributed.[27] Oliver's well-publicized speeches across the country and in the House of Commons on the value of assisting Edmonton's drive to become the gateway to the north gave Edmonton exactly the kind of exposure for which the Board of Trade strove.

That prosperity was so marked, prospects so auspicious in 1898, may explain the small membership in the Board. A nagging worry about membership totals and numbers actively participating persisted among the executive members from the beginning to the end of the year. President Isaac Cowie at the beginning of the year, in his retiring address, urged the membership not to leave all the work to a few. At the same time a membership drive was a prime item of Board business. At the end of the year it was obvious that few new members had been attracted.[28] But then, in a year when everything seemed to go right, there was little need for strenuous Board of Trade exertion.

There were of course individual Edmontonians for whom everything did not go right and whose personal troubles were cared for neither by the Board nor by the Agricultural Society. Into this breach stepped the Edmonton Hospital Aid Society, announcing the contribution of women to the larger community while also performing a social welfare function not yet acknowledged in the responsibilities of the town Council. The Hospital Aid Society is intriguing for being the closest equivalent for women to the all-male town Council. To be sure, the Hospital Aid Society's nine-member board of management represented not Edmontonians nor Edmonton women at large, but only the volunteers who joined the Society. On the other hand, the whole community was served by its activities, and the 1898 Board composition was clearly an equivalent in economic and social position to the town Council. President was Mrs. E. A. Braithwaite, whose husband was a medical doctor and city health officer. Vice-president Mrs. Lauder may have been the wife of T. G. Lauder of the "Old Scotch Bakery". Treasurer Miss LaRue was most likely related to the family of Stanislas LaRue, who, with J. H. Picard, had cooperated in a prominent general store and other enterprises. The Secretary's husband was N. D. Beck, lawyer, crown prosecutor and Edmonton town solicitor. Mrs. H. C. Taylor's husband was a well-established lawyer. W. B.

Stennett, probably the husband of the "Mrs. Stennett" listed on the Board, was an independent fur trader. Mrs. Graydon's husband George H. operated a drugstore. Mrs. Gallagher's husband Cornelius, the proprietor ~~of~~ of the Alberta Meat and Packing House, was President of the Board of Trade and would run unsuccessfully for the mayoralty in late 1898.[29] The husbands of these women were involved in the commerce, professions and municipal organization of the town.

The Society met monthly to plan its principal task, to earn money to support Edmonton's hospital service. The annual $1.00 membership fee underlined its aims. The General Hospital supported by the Society was staffed by Catholic nursing Sisters of Charity of Ville Marie ("Grey Nuns"). It was not a municipally funded hospital and therefore depended upon donations of merchandise, services or money. The Society, in addition to raising money itself, kept the needs of the Hospital in the public eye to elicit such contributions. The division of proceeds from a winter Hospital Aid Society charity ball illustrates the basic uses made of the money they raised: $200 for bedding and night clothes, $100 for coal and $100 for food. The "Young Ladies" auxiliary of the Society usually raised smaller sums by means of skating carnivals and the like. One of their $50 contributions went for a sterilizer for doctors' instruments and medicine for the poor.[30]

The poor received special benefits from the Hospital Aid exertions. Whether or not they were altogether adequate, the attentions the Society directed to the medical needs of the poor were unique in the Edmontons of 1898. The hospital obviously did not cater to those well enough off to be able to afford private medical care at home. Fewer than 20% of the hospital patients were, as a rule, self-sufficient enough to pay for their treatment. Over half were usually "pauper patients" who were able to pay none of the costs. The remainder paid one-half their costs. Most patients were, therefore, being treated not only for health ailments but also for some degree of poverty. From this point of view it must have seemed graceless in the extreme for the Plaindealer to criticize the hospital's operation for inadequate accommodation and food, especially if the allegation was untrue.[31]

The question of whether the corporate arrangements of Edmonton and Strathcona were adequate would become increasingly insistent in the next few years. 1898 appears to have been a transitional year in municipal administration, a year in which reluctance to plunge into the collective approach to urban development was only gradually being overcome. That was one sign that the experience of village intimacy was about to end, to be replaced by another North American urban embryo.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 3, 10, February 14, 21, March 10, 1898.

2. Letterbook of the Edmonton Town Clerk, 1897-9, contains several letters boosting the town: Edmonton City Archives. See, for example, A. G. Randall to A. B. Campbell, Kingston, January 31, 1898.

3. EB, March 10, 24, April 11, 21, May 19, September 22, December 29, 1898.

4. EB, April 21, May 19, June 2, 1898.

5. EB, March 24, April 14, 21, June 2, August 8, 11, 15, September 26, 1898.

6. EB, July 11, November 17, 1898.

7. EB, November 17, December 29, 1898.

8. EB, January 17, May 19, November 3, December 8, 15, 1898.

9. EB, May 26, 30, June 2, 13, 16, 27, July 4, 1898.

10. EB, September 29 and October 6, 1898.

11. EB, November 3, 10, 17, 1898.

12. EB, November 28, December 1, 5, 8, 1898.

13. EB, December 5, 12, 1898.

14. EB, December 8, 15, 1898.

15. Alberta Plaindealer (AP), May 11, June 8, 1898.

16. AP, April 13, 20, 1898.

17. AP, July 29, August 5, 1898.

18. EB, October 17, 31, 1898.

19. AP, October 21, 28, 1898. Edmonton's French speaking community was aware of another issue, but it was carried by Edmontonian Frederic Villeneuve into the St. Albert arena. This was the matter of French Catholic rights in the organization of Territorial education, considered of sufficient importance by St. Albert's French speaking population to elect outsider Villeneuve over his local, but Anglophone, rival. See E. J. Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 47-51.

20. EB, November 10, 1898; AP, November 11, 1898.

21. AP, November 18, 25, 1898.

22. AP, November 25, December 2, 16, 1898. The campaign for town status for Strathcona is described in greater detail in John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 58-64.

23. Correspondence, John C. F. Bown Papers, File 204, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary.

24. EB, February 10, November 17, 25, December 1, 8, 1898.

25. AP, February 24, March 16, 1898; EB, June 9, 1898.

26. AP, February 24, September 9, 16, 1898; EB, October 6, 1898.

27. AP, February 24, 1898; EB, March 7, June 6, 13, 20, 27, 1898.

28. EB, April 4, December 26, 1898.

29. EB, January 24, 1898.

30. EB, January 27, March 28, May 16, 1898.

31. EB, January 24, March 28, May 2, 5, 1898; AP, April 20, 1898.

Chapter 6: Voluntary Associations.

Direct involvement in the interlocking mesh of the town was accessible in Edmonton and Strathcona, other than in the economic sense, by participation in one or more of the considerable number of societies and churches. When the organizations of the churches are added to the other clubs available in 1898, the result is a marvellous assortment for so small a population. Granting the probability that many belonged to two, three or more associations, the conclusion must be such that cohesiveness enhanced the intimacy of day to day relations in the small centre.

Most numerous, aside perhaps from church organizations, were the fraternal lodges, most of them Masonic and entirely male preserves. The public report of a typical meeting of one Masonic lodge demonstrates the essential purpose of these institutions. At the beginning of the year, the "past principal Z" of the "North Star Chapter, Royal Arch Masons, No. 118, G.R.C." was lawyer H. C. Taylor. His successor for 1898 was J. J. Dunlop, to be assisted by "2nd principal H" D. C. Robertson, "3rd principal J" G. T. Bragg, "scribe E" T. Hourston, "scribe N" William Short, treasurer J. A. McDougall, "principal soj." F. A. Osborne, "master 1st V" A. H. Goodwin, "master 3rd V" Richard Secord, "4th V" G. H. Graydon and "Jan." Wm. McKay.[1] Without attempting to ferret out the meaning of all the initials, titles and ritual involved, it is certainly justifiable to interpret the emphasis on numerous distinctive, titled positions as an effort to combine for the members a sense of individual importance with a sense of communal belonging. The fraternal lodges have therefore special significance in urban history. They fostered community.

Edmonton's Masonic lodges had a history dating back to 1881 and had secured a Masonic Hall soon after, certainly by 1883.[2] The Bulletin regularly featured a classified advertisement section devoted to listing "Secret Societies". The North Star Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons met regularly in Edmonton's Masonic Hall the second Tuesday evening of every month. Hourston's Hall seemed to share with the Masonic Hall the sites of weekly, fortnightly or monthly meetings of local lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows, the Ancient Order of Foresters ("Court Beaver House, No. 7866") the loyal Orange Order, and those going regularly by the mystical initials, A. F. and A. M. or A.O.U.W. Lochlomond Lodge, No. 111 of the Independent Order of Good Templars, preferred to create its own "Good Templar's Hall" from the old Methodist church, for meetings every second Tuesday evening. But then, the Templars formed no ordinary lodge, but a Christian temperance lodge seeking the improvement of society by putting the leadership into the hands of honest, temperate men.[3]

Some orders could involve Protestant clergymen. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman served as "C. T." with the admittedly unique Good Templars. Edmonton and Acadia (South Edmonton) Lodges, A. F. and A. M. celebrated with North Star Chapter of the Royal Arch Masons the "festival of St. John the Baptist by a parade to the English Church" to hear the Rev. H. A. Gray preach a special sermon. There are indications too of female equivalents of these male bastions: the "King's Daughters", for example, conducted evening "at homes" for members and the public, but such reports were rare. Expansion of the variety of orders took place on the male side. In November the charter Knights of Pythias held their organizational meeting. And in South Edmonton it was Masonic lodges and the "Clyde" chapter of the Ancient Order of Foresters which were available.[4]

Their activities, in connection with the fraternal function, infrequently went beyond the regular meetings. On one occasion all Masons cooperated to welcome a visiting guest speaker, Member of Parliament Nicholas Flood Davin. At the end of the year Edmonton Lodge, A. F. and A. M. planned a festive ball for over 100 participants in Robertson Hall. The Templars did sponsor a series of elocutionary competitions as a kind of community service, but that was the only publicized example of any "service club" aspect for the lodges.[5] They existed solely as copies of, or extensions of, the same fraternal lodges elsewhere in North America and Great Britain.

The communities to be fostered were thus not only local, but international. The international numbers by which local branches were identified ranged as high as 7,866 and every advertisement included the phrase, "Visiting brethren cordially invited." At home, they excluded non-members. Their lack of local independence is illustrated by the visit to the Edmonton arm of the Independent Order of Foresters of the I.O.F. "organizer" in July.[6] Lest these lodges begin to seem more fragmenting than unifying an institution, one should keep in mind that for middle class businessmen and professionals access to membership was both easy and extensive. To belong was an urban thing to do; that so many at a certain broad social level did was in itself an indication of unanimity (or uniformity) of outlook.

Three societies organized on the basis of religious and ethnic tradition would also seem at first glance to be divisive influences in the community, but were in reality not. These were the St. Jean Baptiste Society, the Orange Order and the St. Andrew's Society. The St. Jean Baptiste Society caught the public notice most in June, on the occasion of St. Jean Baptiste day. In 1898 the celebration of this special day involved a convergence of branches of the society from Morinville, St. Albert, Fort Saskatchewan and Edmonton on the Morinville headquarters. Festivities included a picnic followed by a concert and variety entertainment, to which a "musical and dramatic circle" of the Edmonton branch contributed. Members in this society were of course French speaking and Roman Catholic.[7]

Very little contrast was provided on July 12 by the "Orange celebration" of militant Irish-Scottish protestantism. Fort Saskatchewan brethren accompanied the Edmonton lodge for parade (to the sounds of fife and drum corps) dinner, addresses and "athletic sports" at the South Edmonton Agricultural Society grounds, courtesy of Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1654, South Edmonton. The speakers were such prominent community representatives as Robert McKernan and A. C. Rutherford from the south side, and M. P. Frank Oliver and area M.L.A. Frank Fraser Tims from the north side.[8]

The visibility of the St. Andrew's Society came later in the year, although regular monthly meetings prevailed throughout the year. But the annual meeting in November was called not only to elect the next year's officers but also to arrange the highly public traditional annual dinner. Members and friends were invited to supper in the Queen's Hotel on November 30 for a "national reunion of the Sons of the Heather." The prominence of the Scottish society is revealed in the list of new officers, including municipal stalwarts G. J. Kinnaird, W. S. Edmiston, W. Johnstone Walker, Thomas Hourston and G. W. Gairdner. The ethnic and religious components were formalized in the positions of standard bearer (Archie Cameron), bard (James Johnstone) and chaplain (Rev. D. G. McQueen).

Their subsequent dinner "was probably the most successful in the history of the society at Edmonton," seventy members and their friends participating. The ever popular parade opened festivities, piper T. Hourston leading the procession from the fire hall to Queen's Hotel for dinner. The long round of toasts, however tedious they may have been, was perhaps the most significant aspect of the affair. Besides invited political representatives, the leaders of other societies, notably J. H. Picard, president of the St. Jean Baptiste Society, were honoured in toasts to their organizations.[9] In such ways did various ostensibly separated societies maintain their traditions, yet, in formally entertaining one another's dignitaries, also build and maintain community friendliness and cooperation.

Another example of the same social device followed immediately in the fifth annual dinner of the Old Timers' Association. Included in their toasts was one to "sister societies", responded to by G. J. Kinnaird for the St. Andrew's Society and

J. H. Picard for the St. Jean Baptiste Society.[10] The Old Timers' Association was, on the other hand, itself a unique organization in Edmonton, for it was inspired by the sense of local history and local pioneer pride.

Its two major functions of each year were dedicated to the memory of Edmonton's past and its present community. The annual January and February "Old Timers' Ball" had already achieved institutional status. For two dollars per couple, dancing to the music of two violins and a piano at the "opera house" followed supper at Jasper House across the street. Here homage was paid to the distinctive formative influences on the Edmonton identity. In 1898,

> The room was tastefully decorated and adorned with furs and across the stage was erected an old time shanty in all its rustic simplicity. Traps and furs hung from the walls and several signs bearing the inscriptions, "Burbank's stopping place. Guides furnished to the Nelson and Liard," "Dining room girl wanted," etc., also decorated the walls.... There...were probably one hundred and fifty couples present. The old time effect was added to by some of the numbers on the programme, notably the duck dance and the time honored Red River jig.

In this last year before the creation of the Edmonton Club, the Association had no rivals in the field of formal social representation of Edmonton. Its compass was, moreover, geographically wide ranging. The 300 or 360 estimated to have attended the ball included many from South Edmonton. The 1898 elections of officers turned up not only Frank Oliver to succeed H. S. Young as president, but also a representative of the nearby Victoria district as vice-president and John Walter as the vice-president from South Edmonton. Veteran Edmonton politician Matt McCauley served as treasurer, and several other veterans were pillars of the executive committee.[11]

These organizations both mobilized and were mobilized by professional and business leaders. Their own professional associations claimed their time as well, but they had a stake in both their geographical and occupational communities. Other Edmontonians were aware of their distinction and would, at formal institutional dinners, raise toasts to "the learned professions." Their associations primarily, of course, regulated professional practices. The Law Society of the North-West Territories had licensing powers, so it was significant when the Edmonton Branch achieved an image of permanence by renting a room in the McLeod building in central Edmonton to house a library for the Society.[12] Clergymen had perhaps the strongest sense of all professionals of the uniqueness of their calling, yet several (notably Protestants) were active in various community associations. Insofar as these professionals were absorbed in external Edmonton community affairs, their professional isolation was to that extent broken down and at the same time made useful to all.

Not only the clergymen, but also the churches of Edmonton frequently found reason to respond to the town as a whole. It is true that a fairly simple collection of Christian denominations was established in Edmonton: six - including the brand new presence of Salvation Army barracks since the close of 1897.[13] Adherents of other well-defined beliefs were no doubt present, but not yet in organized form. Abraham Cristall's family formed the majority of the Jewish population, so that his continued preservation of Jewish cultural and religious practices took place entirely in his home.[14] Organized religion in the Edmontons meant primarily the activities of four Protestant denominations (Methodist, Presbyterian, Anglican, Baptist) and the Roman Catholic Church.

Well established, they were by no means independent. All had metropolitan connections with their centralized church organizations, and some held very inferior positions in their denominations' schemes of things. Perhaps only the Catholic congregation had really transcended the "mission" stage denoting complete dependence on the parent body, although the north side Methodist congregation seems to have approached the Catholic in size.[15] Exalted visitors came from the closest ecclesiastical centres: the Anglican Bishop of Calgary to conduct special services, the Presbyterian Home Missions overseer and the Superintendent of Baptist Home Missions from Winnipeg. On the other hand, local clergymen sometimes were called to attend centralized meetings elsewhere: Presbyterian Rev. D. G. McQueen spent ten March days at Home Mission committee meetings in Vancouver.[16]

Their relatively primitive development may have made it easier for some congregations to cooperate when they perceived a common objective. The greatest example of that, as we shall see later, was the intense prohibition campaign in summer and fall. But there were more ordinary instances. An evangelist invited to Edmonton to conduct a summer week of evening "Gospel meetings" for the Baptist Church was also invited to preach to a Methodist Sunday morning worship service. Three South Edmonton congregations, the Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist, took advantage of the parent "Evangelical Alliance" for such purposes as a cooperative "Week of Prayer" program in January.[17] There was no hint of amalgamation in these measures; on the contrary, all were in the early stages of struggling to assert themselves. Their cooperation worked to assist each denomination in that endeavour at certain points of duplicate planning or where, as with prohibition, the objective was so tremendous as to demand a common front.

The main business of the churches was to schedule regular worship services, so normal as to be infrequently reported in the newspaper despite their regulating influence on the weekly timetable. Still, Methodists and Baptists made some effort on occasion to advertise their services beyond the confines of their own congregations. The special January sermon by Methodist Rev. Joshua Dyke, "The Manly Klondiker", which has already been noted, was a rather unusual example designed for the edification of Klondikers invited to "dress in their travelling costumes and occupy the centre seats of the church." Usually, advance publicity given to sermons was based on the drawing power expected from the sermon title. "The Young Man's Hindrances" were tackled by Baptist Rev. J. R. Cresswell in February; Rev. Joshua Dyke turned to a series of Biblical character studies in sermon format in March. Some especially noteworthy sermons and choir selections might be reported after the fact in the Bulletin or Plaindealer, Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist services receiving the greatest attention.[18]

The same denominations moved beyond regular services to special lectures and campaigns in attempts to reach the general public, occasionally in cooperation. In March, Methodist Rev. E. B. Glass and Cree Chief Pakan visited the Edmontons from Whitefish Lake Reserve to conduct special mission-oriented worship services in the Methodist churches. Simultaneously, the Baptist Church in Edmonton advertised to the community at large a one week program of evening "gospel services" for which they were able to obtain a speaking contribution from Chief Pakan. Several more weeks of similar services were sponsored by the Baptists on both sides of the river in July and August. Once again they promoted a special attraction, this time visiting "Evangelist Pugsley".[19]

It was a little too early to expect the churches to prepare programs concentrating on reaching the new alien ethnic communities in the city. We have already seen that isolated attention was paid the Germans in June by visiting German language preachers of the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations, and that St. Joachim's Roman Catholic church once permitted the performance of a Greek Catholic service for the special benefit of some of the town's Galicians.

The Catholic churches in the Edmontons had not however gone much beyond their traditional allegiance to the French-speaking community. In fact, for the St. Joachim parish, ethnic diversification meant the steady influx of English speaking Catholics to the extent that English-language sermons became necessary. One response to such encroachment was the 1894 introduction into Edmonton of the French-Canadian Catholic St. Jean Baptiste Society. That was an agency to preserve a long-existing separate culture, not one to ease the adjustment to Canadian customs of alien newcomers. Along the same line, French speaking Catholic businessmen like Stanislas LaRue belonged as well to the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association, which was a branch of a larger network. LaRue attended the national convention at Quebec in September as the Edmonton delegate.[20] The C.M.B.A. represented the intersection of French, Roman Catholic and investment interests. It demonstrated that the Roman Catholic community, even the French speaking Catholic community, maintained its own unity within, not separate from, the broader contexts.

Nor did Protestant attention to ethnic aliens go beyond some local participation in the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[21] That is not to say, on the other hand, that all strangers in town were disregarded. In this year of the Klondike rush through the Edmontons there were more transients than usual to invite to church services and special presentations. They were, for the most part, treated to standard fare differentiated from Sunday morning worship mainly by an increase in musical content. Typical of the programs offered by the Presbyterians was one chaired by Rev. D. G. McQueen which consisted entirely of hymns, choir selections, organ solos and vocal solos. The Baptists staged "missionary and musical" programs. While the potential audience was broader than each congregation itself, that was apparently insufficient reason for the churches to change the established formula by which entertainment was given only slight place in those concerts and socials designed primarily to propagate the Gospel. Perhaps the most daring departure from regular church format for the evangelical denominations was to be seen in the open air garden parties of the Methodist Epworth Leagues. More typical, presented by Anglicans as well, were the traditional "Christmas Tree" entertainments open to the public.[22]

A rather different category of church-sponsored entertainment was intended to raise money. The best publicized fund raisers were the ladies of the Catholic and Anglican churches. The Presbyterians did stage a summer "talent show" at Robertson Hall which supplied not only music, but also cut flowers and candies for sale.[23] For the most part, however, they refrained along with the Methodists and Baptists from mixing such material objectives into the affairs of religious bodies. Their own preoccupation was, as we shall see, quite different.

The favourite Catholic means of earning money outside of congregational donations was the bazaar. In 1898 they had a special project to benefit from their efforts. St. Anthony's Church in South Edmonton was preparing to construct a new church building. At the end of 1897 the Catholic ladies of South Edmonton organized a bazaar involving musical entertainment provided by musicians from both sides of the river. More of this inter-community cooperation was displayed by the Edmonton Catholic ladies who sponsored a series of winter bazaars in aid of their South Edmonton comrades at both ends of 1898. Only the provision of a concert in the opera house on St. Patrick's day evening diverted the Catholic ladies from their single-minded approach.[24] Denominational loyalties obviously helped to undermine any potential inter-community division between the Edmontons.

Anglican ladies would only infrequently turn to the bazaar format to raise funds. Their main method was to organize entertainments for spectators who were charged admission fees. At the start of the year the All Saints' chancel guild advertised a musical "promenade concert" in Robertson Hall for which admission would cost 25 cents. In May this congregation produced a three act stage comedy for which admission again had a price. On the South Side, the ladies and "Juveniles" of Holy Trinity Church derived financial rewards from two April shows of another entirely secular production, "the fairy play, Cinderella", in Ross' Hall. For one of these occasions the ladies managed to persuade South Edmonton merchants to close their stores (at the time normally open Saturday evenings) in order to increase chances of good attendance and proceeds.[25]

Productions of all church denominations tended, as we have already seen, to involve cooperation of cross-river members within denominations. They were also almost universally conducted by women's groups of the churches. This standard role for women emphasizes the kind of segregation by assumed separate interests operating within the church populations. Roman Catholic church ladies, despite their formal, structured organization, were not yet distinguished to the public at large by a special group name, but the"Chancel Guilds" of the Anglican congregations were, and so were the Baptist Women's Mission Circles and the Methodist Ladies' Aid Societies.[26] Baptist, Presbyterian and Methodist women were, of course, eager participants in the cross-denominational Women's Christian Temperance Union.

Sunday Schools were common for children who might, at least in the case of Presbyterians, pass through such separate clubs as the "Young People's Christian Endeavour Society" before achieving irrevocable adult status. Adult men were universally entrusted with management of regular church affairs: only they were eligible for congregational executive boards. French speaking men were the family representatives in the St. Jean Baptiste Society. While the Protestant Young Men's Christian Association had not yet arrived at Edmonton, in the informal meetings of half a dozen young men at the home of John A. McDougall were the seeds of a preliminary organization which would formally emerge in 1899, under the presidency of Anglican Rev. H. A. Gray, as the Edmonton Young Men's Institute.[27]

All these structured separations into groups were simply extensions of well-known traditions of church participation in eastern Canada, with British and American precursors. They were matched by other traditions, especially annual Sunday School picnics (really for whole families) and winter "Christmas Trees" for the Protestants, St. Jean Baptiste day celebrations for the Catholics, which added the experience of congregational unity in the realm of entertainment to their common religious beliefs and observances.[28] There was almost as much ritual to these events as in the various religious worship forms. The curious pattern, with intriguing similarities in the secular world surrounding them, combined commonly held congregational beliefs and objectives with practical, functional segregation of group roles in pursuit of those goals. The men set building plans, for example; the women (in the Anglican and Catholic congregations) undertook special projects to help achieve them.

The churches were also visible in the external community through their professional representatives, the clergymen. A number of the towns' organizations solicited the services of Protestant clergymen as chaplains. Presbyterian Rev. D. G. McQueen acted as chaplain at least for the Edmonton Curling Club and the St. Andrew's Society.[29] Clergymen could, as well, become prominent by participating in public discussion of controversial political issues. Education would be one example in other years, but in 1898 the outstanding case was the struggle to impose prohibition of alcoholic beverages throughout Canada. The clergymen of the Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian congregations found themselves allied in this campaign with the Women's Christian Temperance Union against a somewhat undefined enemy.

Both sides were active long before the June announcement of a national plebiscite on prohibition. The Hudson's Bay Company set the scene, so to speak, by calling tenders in January for the enlargement of its store, a substantial part of which was the extension of the liquor section to the full length of the store and upward another storey. On the other hand, the W.C.T.U. was prominent in the two towns. A "Temperance Column" was occasionally contributed to the Plaindealer, in which, for example, appeared the inspirational story of a woman who "had openly vaunted her fondness for beer" until she made an abrupt reversal to wear the W.C.T.U. white ribbon of abstinence because she made up her mind "not to set wrinkles on my face with beer." The three churches noted above were also regularly active in the anti-liquor campaign. One Sunday evening a "gospel temperance meeting" followed the regular service in the Methodist church of South Edmonton. The close cooperation of clergymen with the women's movement was displayed in a public meeting in Ross' hall, South Edmonton, in March. The W.C.T.U. sponsored it, but two of the three speakers were clergymen, the third also a man.[30] A few leading men, mostly clerical, inspired an essentially female movement.

Another strong source of inspiration was the equivalent movement in the United States. After the legendary American prohibitionist, Frances Willard, died early in the year, elaborate memorial services were arranged in the Methodist churches by the W.C.T.U. In the Edmonton version, several eulogistic addresses and readings about Willard's work were delivered, followed by "earnest words" and a "strong appeal" for the continuing work of the union by leaders on both sides of the river. The effect was apparently temporarily stupendous. The next May temperance meeting in South Edmonton was crowded to overflowing. Enthusiasm for the cause may also have been stimulated by a situation allegedly so bad in South Edmonton that a night constable was recommended by the Plaindealer "to keep in subjection the drunken rabble who infest the streets and made the night hideous with their yelling, howling and fighting."[31]

Not only could liquor be obtained at the Hudson's Bay

Company outlet, but beer could be purchased by the keg either directly from the South Edmonton Brewing Company or from its sales agent. The public social settings for drinking were the facilities of licensed hotels. In April, then again in May, Territorial liquor license commissioners met in the Edmontons to consider applications from hotels not holding licenses. The four licenses granted (three were refused) brought the number of licensed hotels in Edmonton to four, in South Edmonton to four and in nearby St. Albert to two, a total of 10 for a population of no more than five or six thousand, including the surrounding farmers. As if to make a case for the prohibitionists, one of the successful applicants was simultaneously fined in court for "disorderly conduct" and charges were briefly laid, then dismissed, against three hotel keepers for having their bar blinds down on Sunday, suggesting illegal business. Prohibitionists made the most of the publicity.[32]

The Rev. W. R. Harvey, travelling lecturer and singer in search of moral and financial support for the cause of temperance, happened to be in Edmonton at the invitation of the W.C.T.U. when the Canadian government announced in June an impending national plebiscite to decide the question of prohibition. Harvey became very busy in subsequent weeks. Before the end of the month all ladies of the Edmontons were urged to attend meetings to organize a campaign for prohibition. Harvey increased his contribution on behalf of Gospel-based abstinence beyond Sunday events to include twice weekly open-air lectures in South Edmonton's central band stand, open air meetings on the North side, and the addition of his voice to a Baptist evangelist crusade.[33]

But the campaign did not really heat up until the early August announcement of September 29 as voting day. Prohibitionist preparations mounted to a frantic level. It was immediately announced that

> The crystal male trio of gospel temperance singers will hold two meetings in the Baptist church this and tomorrow evenings at eight o'clock. In addition there will be recitations by Will R. Harvey, organ selections and a short address. On Tuesday evening steps will be taken to organize temperance workers in Edmonton for the plebiscite. Everyone is invited to spend a pleasant evening. A collection will be taken.

The Methodist church offered "special sermons morning and evening in the interests of the prohibition plebiscite," once following up a morning treatise on "What the liquor traffic has done for us, and what we have done for it" with an evening exposition of "The present issue." Mr. Harvey, now designated simply "temperance organizer", shifted into high gear. An open air meeting permitted him the chance to reach unwilling listeners beyond the fringe of his normal audience with a "chalk talk" on the practical subject of the "Revenue from Liquor" while within the churches he could link Christianity and prohibition with reference to the Bible.[34]

Harvey also used Edmonton's Baptist Church as the site for the organization of an Edmonton branch of a national prohibition federation created to fight the prohibition campaign. Still dominated by clergymen, the new group at least transcended the single sex image of the well known W.C.T.U. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman became local president, Presbyterian clergyman D. G. McQueen secretary-treasurer. But four laymen were joined by only two women on the executive committee. The standard Protestant division of roles in the churches worked here as well. Decision making was to be dominated by men; the practical matter of collecting funds was once again left to a bevy of women. Public speakers, though they began to include a greater proportion of laymen, definitely did not include the women who had so long fought the battle.[35]

One advantage to the prohibitionists was the support of the two newspapers. The Plaindealer favoured the measure "first on moral grounds and secondly on grounds of expediency." Its editorials constantly belaboured the argument that the liquor traffic engendered considerable cost to the community. Even the loss of license revenues would surely be more than offset by the money saved in the cost of liquor. The Bulletin began by pointing out wryly that should prohibitionists fail to secure their objective, they could be blamed for "causing an expenditure of a quarter of a million dollars without result except to demonstrate the weakness of their own cause." Nevertheless, the Bulletin also had two reasons for supporting prohibition: first, the practical observation that it would mean not a loss but merely a redistribution of public taxation; second, the observation that since liquor was taxed burdensomely on the basis of being evil, evil being admitted, the proper approach was to eliminate it altogether.[36]

The opposition, on the other hand, was difficult to identify in local terms. Baptist Rev. C. B. Freeman had to excoriate "liquor interests" in general because of their lack of local participation in the debate. Despite this, argued

Freeman, "the liquor trade throughout the Dominion is making every possible effort to influence the vote. Their campaign is a secret one, partly because the methods will not bear the light, and partly to avoid arousing the temperance people to activity. They profess indifference in order to cause indifference among the temperance people." That blast did provoke an anti-prohibitionist response which proved how ill-advised normal routes to publicity were for retentionists in towns where the newspapers were controlled by the opposition. A "mass" of anti-prohibition literature was delivered to the unsympathetic Bulletin office "from an unknown source," including one card obviously meant for public distribution entitled "Ten good reasons why I will vote 'no' on the plebiscite." To nullify the potential effect of widespread circulation of this, the Bulletin editor promptly printed the "ten good reasons" with his own good dismissal of each. He went on to urge an overwhelming majority vote in favour of prohibition as the only means of ensuring federal legislation.[37]

Speakers at public meetings were one-sidedly for prohibition, local Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian clergymen keeping up the pace of their campaign through September. With little or no public opposition, few outsiders were imported on the side of prohibition. Aside from Harvey, the organizer who had just happened to be available at the start, perhaps only one visitor from Kansas and the occasional clergyman from neighbouring parishes supplemented the work in the Edmontons.[38] It was, therefore, an outstanding example of the reform style of the three principal churches responsible for attempting to impose on the towns a uniform standard of behaviour in the area of alcoholic consumption. Both their partial success and their overall failure are important indicators of unities and divisions in the Edmontons.

The decision would be made by those who cared to vote among the male British subjects (except Indians) of at least 21 years of age with at least 12 months' residence in the North West Territories and three in their current electoral districts. Many recent immigrants would be disqualified for reasons both of insufficient local residence and lack of British subject status. Considerable opposition to prohibition, it can be speculated, would be lost because of voting ineligibility. Reports of voting results coincided, ironically, with the news that one of the formerly successful South Edmonton applicants for a hotel liquor license had been convicted of "selling liquor to an interdicted person" and fined $100 and costs, default of payment to result in forfeiture of his liquor license and three months' attendance in jail. He could, as it turned out, expect little sympathy from the 158 South Edmonton voters, of whom 118 cast their ballots in favour of prohibition. On the north side of the river, where a fairly substantial group of qualified French speaking Catholics resided, the vote was almost even: 124 for and 121 against prohibition. South Edmonton voted much the same as Calgary (402 for, 178 against) while Edmonton's vote could be compared with Canada's as a whole (Quebec overwhelmingly against, the rest of the country - except Ontario cities - strongly for).[39]

This was, in Edmonton as in Canada, a show of remarkable strength on the part of prohibitionists, but also a display of resolute opposition among a substantial segment of the population. "Temperance" meetings resumed in October and the speakers (including Frank Oliver, M. P.) pointed out that the battle for a successful outcome had just begun. Federal legislation on the matter could not be surely predicted. The Bulletin editor, no doubt developing Oliver's own position, interpreted the overall fractional Canadian majority of 13,000 for prohibition as a clear signal for the provinces and territories to deal with the problem, thereby avoiding any futile effort to promulgate a law unenforceable in Quebec. And thus vigilance was to be maintained, but it reverted to the duty of the W.C.T.U. which had been its main champion before the plebiscite. Annual meetings of W.C.T.U. branches on both sides of the river resolved to continue pressing for prohibition.[40]

All this activity did not, however, prevent J. B. Mercer from opening a wholesale liquor store on October 24.[41] Clearly there were persistent divisions in Edmontonians' views on the standards of behaviour which ought to prevail among all in the community, differences which would be argued strenuously for the next three decades, the advantage first with one side, then with the other, many residents presumably committed to neither. The controversy was the most visible sign of the dedication within some of the churches to establish for the entire community adherence to an ideal behaviour. The kind of unanimous agreement which would be required for the success of such a project never existed in the Edmontons, but the degree of tolerance necessary to keep the urban network functioning and generally peaceful in spite of it obviously did. A homogeneous community the Edmontons did not present, not even in 1898, but the institutions required to transcend heterogeneity in favour of the cooperative whole, all borrowed from established communities elsewhere, had already begun to develop to ensure unhampered coordination of the contributions of a multitude of diverse specialists.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 17, 1898.

2. Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 35, 64.

3. See, for example, EB, May 19, 1898. See also, Robert Irwin McLean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915")Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1969), 26-27.

4. EB, May 19, June 2, 23, November 14, 1898; Alberta Plaindealer (AP), March 30, July 13, 1898.

5. EB January 13, 31, May 5, June 9, November 17, 21, December 29, 1898.

6. EB, May 19, July 21, 1898.

7. EB, June 30, 1898.

8. AP, June 29, July 13, 1898; EB, July 11, 14, 1898. Tims moved to Edmonton in 1898, although he represented not Edmonton but Fort Saskatchewan and area in the Territorial Assembly.

9. EB, November 17, 25, December 1, 1898.

10. EB, December 12, 1898.

11. EB, February 3, 17, 24, November 21, 1898; AP, February 24, 1898.

12. EB, September 1, December 12, 1898. At the December St. Andrew's Society dinner, Rev. D. G. McQueen, P. L. McNamara

(lawyer) and C. de W. Macdonald (lawyer) replied to the toast to "the learned professions."

13. EB, December 27, 1897; January 3, 1898.

14. Tony Cashman, Abraham Cristall: The Story of a Simple Man (1963), 13, 15.

15. A handwritten list of "Names of Ladies in Meth. congregation, Edmonton," in a minutebook covering 1894-1898 entitled "Record of the WCTU Work in the Territories" contains close to 120 names. See Women's Christian Temperance Union papers, 1894-1966, Box 1, File 1, Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI). This total does not include South Edmonton entrants, of course. Nor does a full membership figure of over 200 for All Saints' Anglican Church, Edmonton in early 1898, recorded in Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the Synod of the Diocese of Calgary held July 13th, 14th and 15th, 1898 at Calgary, Alberta, N.W.T. (Calgary, Alberta Tribune Job Print, 1898), Appendix C. See a microfilm record at GAI of "Anglican Church, Calgary. Proceedings of the Synod, Diocese of Calgary, 1889-1911."

In January, 1899 St. Joachim's parish counted 555 souls in 87 families in Edmonton; 250 souls in 40 families in South Edmonton; but of course the boundaries observed for these tallies are open to question. See 1898 St. Joachim Liber Animarum, p. 233, in the Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (PAA).

According to the 1901 Census of Canada, the population of the Edmontons, which had increased about 25-30% since 1898, was about one-quarter Presbyterian, better than one-fifth Roman Catholic, better than one-sixth each Methodist and Anglican, and merely one-sixteenth Baptist. Canada, Census, 1901, vol. 1, 270-273.

16. EB, February 17, 24, 28, March 10, 1898.

17. EB, July 28, 1898; AP December 30, 1897.

18. EB, January 27, February 14, 21, 24, March 3, 1898, and regularly thereafter.

19. EB, March 3, 14, July 11, 18, 21, 25, 1898; AP, March 10, July 29, 1898.

20. EB, September 12, 1898.

21. EB, June 16, 20, 30, September 22, 1898; AP, February 3, 1898; Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 31-41. Of the 555 souls of the St. Joachim parish counted in Edmonton in January, 1899, 195 were listed as French Canadian in St. Joachim records, 175 as Metis, 116 as Irish and the rest were divided among English, German, French, Galician (2), Belgian and Swiss.

22. EB, March 2, 14, 24, August 18, October 20, November 21, December 19, 26, 1898; AP, December 30, 1897, March 3, December 23, 1898.

23. EB, August 22, 1898.

24. EB, December 30, 1897, February 7, March 10, 17, October 6, 27, 31, 1898, January 2, 1899; AP, July 6, October 21, 1898.

25. EB, January 10, 13, 17, March 14, 17, 28, May 9, 12, 16, 1898; AP, April 13, 1898.

26. EB, January 10, 13, August 18, 1898; AP, March 3, 1898.

27. EB, May 23, 1898; "The History of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association," mimeographed manuscript, 3: Y.M.C.A. papers, PAA.

28. EB, July 21, August 8, November 21, December 26, 29, 1898; AP, August 13, December 23, 1898.

29. EB, November 3, December 1, 1898.

30. EB, January 17, 1898; AP, February 17, March 16, 23, 1898.

31. EB, February 28, March 7; AP, April 6, May 18, June 15, 1898.

32. EB, April 4, May 30, 1898; AP, March 30, April 6, 20, 22, May 4, 18, 25, 1898.

33. EB, June 27, July 21, 1898; AP, June 29, July 22, 1898.

34. EB, August 8, 11, 18, 1898.

35. EB, August 18, 22, 25, 1898.

36. AP, August 13, 26, September 2, 9, 23, 1898; EB, August 22, 1898.

37. EB, September 19, 26, 1898.

38. EB, September 1, 8, 12, 15, 29, 1898.

39. EB, September 15, 19, October 3, 6, 1898; AP, September 30, 1898.

40. EB, October 3, November 7, 10, December 8, 1898; AP, October 7, 1898.

41. EB, October 24, 1898.

Chapter 7: Recreation and Entertainment.

Organized public entertainment in Edmonton and Strathcona in 1898 had some cohesive effect in two different ways. In the first place, it was public because it required participation on a larger scale than was permitted within families or close circles of friends. This was true of team sports, for example, and of dramatic or musical display. Beyond the requirement of group participation, in the second place, both sports interests and theatrical displays were intended to attract audiences. A spectator at a stage play would experience feelings quite distinct from those stimulating an onlooker at a horse race or hockey match. In both instances, however, the common phenomenon of spectatorship was an interesting urban characteristic: the degree to which Edmontonians were spectators in 1898 may suggest their susceptibility to urbanization.[1] Because this was still a relatively intimate community, however, its members still enjoyed a fair proportion of participating town entertainments.

The best publicized group recreations were skating carnivals and dances in the winter, cycling excursions and picnics in the summer. From late November on, the Edmonton band divided much of its evening time between the Holden and Johnston, and the Thistle outdoor rinks, in late 1898 adding the new, covered Smith and Company rink to its list of clients. On designated regular evenings the band accompanied free skating periods. The South Edmonton band did the same at the local Shamrock rink. The special occasions were skating carnivals appealing to skaters, masqueraders and spectators.

Prizes would normally be awarded to winners of racing competitions, for especially "graceful" and "fancy" skating exhibitions, and for outstanding costumes. Sometimes the entertainment continued after the carnival was over, for the community at large, in the sense that costume descriptions were deemed worthy of publication in the Bulletin. Ladies might skate as anything from "Mother Goose" through "Canada" and "Butterfly" to "servant girl". Gentlemen might appear as ordinary cooks, sailors or clowns, but appeared fascinated with diverse exotic ethnic groups demonstrably not included among them - blacks, Indians, Eskimos, Galicians, Japanese - and with the attempt to impersonate females.[2]

Dances also retained an element of exhibitionism in the form of relatively elaborate "balls" hosted by specific organizations, like the Old Timers' Association or the South Edmonton Agricultural Society. But from time to time dances were advertised and held in Robertson Hall by no particular organization, simply by a number of young people for entertainment value. They might reflect temporary opportunities, like one "Klondike Calico Ball" in April, or be rationalized simply for the sake of fun. South side bachelors staged an "At Home" in early February at the Royal Hotel, drawing forty couples. A month later "the ladies" responded with a "calico ball and box special" in the same location. North West Mounted Police barracks were a well known source of dance invitations, and although they undoubtedly involved a more select group, in so small a town setting, the selection could not have been overly particular.[3]

The widespread summertime group recreation and exercise of cycling could easily be organized into a special entertainment. The Edmonton Bicycle Club often arranged excursions to nearby country destinations where refreshments were served and dancing might take place. On one occasion something was borrowed from the skating tradition of costume carnivals, when a masquerade parade provided something for both participants and spectators. Cycling added a special dimension to the organized picnic, which was widely enjoyed among large groups. Up to ninety members and friends of the Edmonton Bicycle Club would make "bicycle runs" to picnic sites. On statutory holidays like May 24, special festive outdoor celebrations would normally include not only structured athletics, but also a multitude of picnics sponsored by organizations or private parties. "Arbor Day" earlier in May was dedicated to the theme of tree-planting, but on this symbolic day of emergence from the long, enclosing Edmonton winter, "pic-nic, driving and wheeling parties were the order of the day."[4]

Hunting and fishing were scarcely divorced from the business of living for those used to travelling the hinterland for trading purposes, and it must have been enjoyed as well by many who were strictly townsmen. Hunting season was autumn, when seasonal shooting restrictions on many varieties of game were lifted. Some camping and canoeing expeditions on the hunt went quite far afield, to Big Hay Lakes, for example, or the vicinity of Rocky Mountain House at the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River.[5]

A more genteel version of the escape to wilderness recreation took place at the camps of H. H. or W. S. Robertson or the "Koney Island Company's club house" at Cooking Lake not far from the town. Here the primitive joys of camping were modified by the presence of violinists for dancing and the innovation of a twelve passenger "gasoline launch" operated by the Koney Island Company to and from the lake. In the newspapers, among the names listed of Edmontonians leaving for vacations to other cities could be found plenty heading for camp or cottage at nearby lakes or to the mountains at Banff or Jasper.[6] Beyond the summer campers reported at these resorts, more must have taken advantage of less exotic but beautiful natural sites surrounding the town. Insofar as they did, they emphasized the degree of their urban identification by the desire they exhibited to make an entertainment of giving up some amenities of civilization for safely short periods.

Even in 1898 a great proportion of the entertainment came as staged presentations for mass audiences. For some of this, local organization was significant. Aside from the brass bands sported by both South Edmonton and Edmonton, and the musicians who provided dance music for the numerous public dances, the first formal organization dedicated to musical presentations was the "Apollo Glee Club". The objects of this choral society for men were simply "mutual benefit and production of good music". Executive positions immediately gave the Club impressive structure: not only conductor and librarian, but also president, vice-president (crown prosecutor N. D. Beck) and secretary treasurer, all serving as both an executive and a musical committee. So auspicious a January beginning was followed by February practices for a concert presented in April, accompanied by one Captain Charles Holt, "late pianist in the Conservatoire of Music, Vienna."[7] Activity thereafter, unfortunately, seems to have fallen off or become extremely private.

The "Edmonton Orchestra", which made a brief appearance in connection with an Anglican church-sponsored play, seems never to have achieved any level of prominence.[8] Much more promise attended the efforts of the first meeting in J. L. Johnson's hardware store to form an "Operatic and Dramatic Society". Once again a rather massive organizational structure was filled by election: President Johnson, his vice-president and his secretary-treasurer were supported by an executive committee of five; conductor A. G. Randall and an assistant formed the orchestral committee. The society, forty strong even at the outset, began to prepare Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance" for early February, 1899. A concert during the Christmas season was a secondary objective.[9] Here was a measure of local determination to enjoy participation in established old country culture far from its source, but there was no attempt to foster any such thing as a local culture. Traditional external standards were being imposed on the new community, and in order to enjoy well-known forms of entertainment, Edmontonians were roused to cooperate locally. In South Edmonton one could maintain some contact with the English speaking world's intellectual traditions by observing or taking sides in debates sponsored by the Literary Institute.[10] Similar efforts were made, as we have seen, by members of the French-speaking community.

Various groups staged elocutionary contests which, if they may seem potentially low in entertainment value, were at least accompanied by some musical program. Technological novelties drew good crowds. Primitive photograph slides and gramaphones were among the most popular. A St. Patrick's day concert featured gramaphones in its usual musical program. Two Klondikers, applying their ingenuity to assist a fellow transient who had suddenly to return from whence he came but was financially ill-prepared to do so, raised money by accompanying a "minstrel sketch" with a gramaphone. Church groups promoted a multitude of fund raising concerts, religiously inspired concerts, talent shows, plays and other literary and musical presentations at socials and garden parties. From the local amateurs alone, Edmonton and South Edmonton residents could expect a goodly assortment of productions to watch.[11]

But this matter of buying the opportunity to enjoy vicariously the entertaining accomplishments of others was carried much further, even in 1898. The railway connection through Calgary with the rest of North America meant the Edmontons were placed on the itineraries of a number of touring professionals with various acts. Here was a measure of Edmonton's urban advancement: not only did the citizen purchase the goods and services necessary for living, but he was also able already to purchase his entertainment from full-time specialists.

There were limits to the selection in 1898. Among so small a population, there were too few afficionados of esoteric theatrical and musical delights requiring sophisticated advance knowledge to justify economically the appearance of professionals in the fields of "serious" music or "serious" drama. Most professional entertainment attracted to the Edmontons was therefore designed to draw as broad a cross-section of the public as possible. Perhaps the most popular form was the variety concert of music, dancing and demonstrations of technological novelties. Two such companies, the Cosgrove Concert Company and the "Hardie Ideals" once performed simultaneously at two Edmonton halls - the Edmonton Opera House and Taylor Hall - without affecting each other's capacity turnouts. Their programs were essentially the same: musical presentations, "Kinetoscopic" exhibitions, and highland and butterfly dancing "with calcium effects". The Cosgrove outfit melded local interest in both new gadgetry and home town pride with "ten lime light views of Klondike parties leaving Edmonton and the Athabasca Landing." Another itinerant company highlighting skit-level plays in its program added to its inducements a "Kinetoscopic representation of the Corbett-Fitzsimmons Fight." One couple combined "phonographic and hypnotic entertainment."[12]

Plays, generally of a light and relatively superficial quality, were popular, perhaps in a similar way as films later would be. Some were included within variety programs. Others were delivered by dramatic specialists. The Harry Lindley Comedy Company was encouraged by audience demand to remain longer than anticipated when they hit the local peak interest with the staging of something entitled "The Yukon Pioneer".

Both Robertson's Hall on the north side of the river and the new Ross' Hall on the south side held large crowds for plays presented by the R. E. French Theatre Company at the end of the year. Literary and musical presentations receiving less widespread audience support were offered by one Fred Emerson Brooks, advertised as a poet and "humorous reader and entertainer" and later by Bernhard Walther (violinist), his wife and a Miss Eschelmann (pianist) in the Robertson "opera house."[13]

By contrast, enthusiasm prevailed for the arrival in each of Edmonton and South Edmonton in late August of the three ring circus, "Lemen Brothers' World's Monster Shows". Not only did advertisements promise spectators an enormous elephant, the world's highest diver, a superlative bareback horse gymnast, racing steers, "100 Exalted Circus Champions in 150 Supreme Acts," and "whole droves and herds of animals," but they also invited Edmontonians to see that "rarest, strangest, awfulest of all the mighty monsters of the great deep," the "Might Bovalapus". Some critical reference was eventually made to unsavoury "side shows and skin games" and "swindling," but it scarcely disturbed the wave of excitement caused by the circus spectacle.[14] Apparently vicarious, escapist entertainment which would contrast with the familiar, predictable, stable order of the ordinary village world best caught the imagination of Edmonton's and South Edmonton's majorities.

Sometimes exciting spectacles did not remove the viewers far from their normal world at all, but intentionally emphasized or glorified certain prominent features of it. Professionals could not yet fill this function; dedicated community leaders were those primarily responsible for the civic demonstrations honouring specific groups or individuals. The community as a whole was highlighted in the civic organization of mass holidays: Arbor Day, Queen Victoria's birthday and Dominion Day, celebrated in athletic competition and concerts in Robertson's Hall by the Edmonton Brass Band.[15]

Certain clubs and societies brought public attention to their roles in the community with similar planned displays. St. Jean Baptiste day, or the festival of St. John the Baptist, was observed in traditional pleasurable celebration by both French and English language groups. The St. Jean Baptiste societies of the Edmonton district were treated to picnic, concert and drama at Morinville. The Edmonton and Acadia lodges, A. F. and A. M. (representing Edmonton and South Edmonton, respectively), together with the North Star chapter Royal Arch Masons and any other visiting Masons who cared to join, marked the occasion by an evening parade to the Anglican church. Perhaps listening to a sermon hardly counted as entertainment, but it matched the ritualistic form of the parade, an extraordinary event meant to please spectators while emphasizing the day. Orange Order celebrations on July 12 were similar: noon picnic dinner and addresses were followed by sports events and a parade for the benefit of all and sundry observers.[16]

The appreciation and support of all residents was the obvious objective of extravagant formal public demonstrations tendered deserving public officials on days specially set apart. A banquet in honour of M.L.A. Frank Fraser Tims in

Fort Saskatchewan in February was attended by many Edmontonians. On a grander scale, the Board of Trade invited the "general public" to assist in arranging a banquet to honour M. P. Frank Oliver on his return from Ottawa. Oliver's reception eventually included a public holiday, an open air meeting and bands besides the banquet. The town's leading (Liberal) citizens planned the event, and it contained strong political overtones, but the impression given by all the publicity was that they wished to involve and represent the entire community.[17]

A different kind of urban representation infused the make believe world of sport. The number of distinct activities had grown quite large by 1898, so in a sense it was a fragmented sphere of endeavour. On the other hand, in many events provision was made for spectators, so not only those directly participating derived enjoyment from the proceedings. Even the smaller groups of participants in several sports required the cooperation of other Edmontonians as paying spectators or through their municipal representatives if facilities adequate for the games were to be set aside. Early in 1898 the Thistle rink was equipped with 38 electric lights to allow evening skating and, significantly, an evening schedule for all Thistle hockey team matches. In turn, the possibility of many more paying observers for the games after regular working hours permitted the kind of facilities enjoyed by the hockey players. Golf enthusiasts, tennis players, bowlers and curlers obviously depended on sufficient fellow participants to pay for the necessary space, buildings and maintenance. Teams in cricket, soccer and rugby required park space to be set aside by the municipality for athletic use. If there was not enough space for simultaneous engagement by a number of teams, a degree of cooperation was necessary among them. One cricket match had to be left incomplete to make way for a scheduled soccer game between Edmonton and Stony Plain teams.[18] Thus a multitude of agreements was required even to enable organized sports events to take place.

The more open the participation, the greater the attention to group organization in such recreational sports as curling, golf, lawn tennis, shooting, bowling and cycling. Although most popular in the excursion form of recreation, the last was organized in the Edmonton Cycling Club at least in part to promote racing as well. The Canadian Wheelmen's Association (which originated in central Canada in 1880s, just before the discovery of a cheap way to produce bicycles) assisted the local club to level and improve the race track for cycling training and intra-club races over distances of one and two miles.[19] Golf was the other summer sport for individual participation which was as well established as cycling. The "annual meeting" of April was already an institutionalized event signifying the start of another season. Regular play was interspersed during the summer with tournaments in men's and women's competition for well-recognized prizes. The closing ritual for the season involved special tournaments in September before some spectators and with "the ladies" serving lunch in the historic "Big House".[20] Checking the regularly published lists of golf winners against the town directory, one may estimate the occupations characteristic of the participants. They were mainly businessmen and professionals and their families.

Some of the same people took part in the tournaments organized by tennis club committees on both the north and south sides of the river. While the north side players had been organized already for seven years, the South Edmonton Lawn Tennis Courts were just opened in July. From that point parallel sets of events occurred in the two locations. Play was already quite rigidly structured: reservations were required to ensure time slots for court space, and one day each week became tournament day.[21] Shooting, within the confines of gun clubs, had a contrastingly sporadic course through 1898. Edmonton's rod and gun club early in the year experienced difficulty bringing out enough members to hold meetings, although it pulled itself together in early June to arrange the "usual summer shoot" and tournament participation in Dominion Day festivities. The organizational dedication to regularly scheduled action which infused the golf and tennis club was missing in the rod and gun club, although a South Edmonton gun club with twenty charter members appeared in mid-summer.[22]

Prior to 1898, indoor bowling apparently did not exist in Edmonton. But the spring clearing of the lot next to the Queen's Hotel was followed by the erection there of a privately owned combination of bowling alley, shooting gallery, tobacco store and barber shop.[23] Bowling would in time prove to be the most popular of all the sports organized in Edmonton for participants, with more than a hint of plebeian flavour. In 1898, though, it was still a novelty.

Skating may have been the most widely practised winter outdoor recreation, but among competitive sports for non-athletes, curling stood alone in popularity. It was by 1898 thoroughly organized, particularly in Edmonton, although South Edmonton too evidently supported a club. Those who belonged to the Edmonton Curling Club may again have been among the moderately prosperous and possibly older sportsmen, those who were willing to pay the $10 annual fee. There was a Patron - Mayor Edmiston, a Patroness - Mrs. Frank Oliver and a Chaplain - Rev. D. G. McQueen. President Alex Taylor received the aid of two vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, two representative members and a five man committee of management. Play was directed toward prizes in the forms of cups or "buttons": the Hardisty Cup, the Galt "Blue Ribbon Cup" and the Vice-President's button, for example. Women do not seem regularly to have participated, although an occasional curling match was reported between married ladies and single girls. The demonstrated suitability for the sport of a newly built covered ice rink presaged the end of one long-standing obstruction to smooth planning: vagaries of the weather.[24] A covered rink served well the constant urban drive to improve organized cooperative activity, in sport as in all endeavours.

Some bonspiels had for a number of years already injected civic representation into the local world of curling. Calgary and Edmonton clubs staged annual open bonspiels to which curlers from the rival centre were invited. Edmonton and South Edmonton curlers failed in 1898, for example, in their quest in Calgary to capture the Calgary Brewing and

Malting Company's trophy.[25] This was an aspect of sport - community representation - made to order for spectators, for whom team sports, especially hockey, held greater fascination. Teams and their spectators were often interdependent for the sheer survival of the spectacles. Perhaps the idea of "team" also appealed to an audience constantly used to working in tandem in less ideally regulated circumstances. Victories would presumably be shared by team and fans alike, all associated rosily with the town. Whatever the motivation, in 1898 nothing matched hockey in spectator appeal or a town's identification with its sporting heroes.

The names of the senior teams for Edmonton and South Edmonton, the "Thistles" and "Shamrocks," associated them with the names of the rinks in which they practised. Civic aspirations were more aptly announced in the junior teams' names, the Edmonton "Stars" and the South Edmonton "Capitals". The senior teams struggled for the "Potter Cup" while even the public schools were represented by the rival hockey teams in the "Edmonton District Hockey League", striving to win a silver cup. Here was the competitive spirit exploited to the mutual benefit - one might even argue, the united benefit, since each fed on the presence of the other - of both communities.

Not only did the Edmonton Hockey Club have a rink lighted in the evenings, but in 1898 the Club provided playing uniforms with distinctive green and black colours for its teams. They were seen not only in South Edmonton but also in Calgary, with which centre, however, the traditional conflict was still limited to one or two exchanges of games annually. Hockey was the only team sport sufficiently popular in the Edmontons to stimulate the formation at the year's end of a women's representative team, the "Lady Shamrocks", whose seventeen original members selected an amazingly complete executive of seven.[26] None of the other team sports inspired the same enthusiasm as did hockey.

Nevertheless, the same definite identification of teams with the community applied to the organization of soccer and cricket. Spontaneous soccer ("association football") matches did continue to be played - west end versus east end pick-up teams, for instance - but newspaper coverage was devoted to the fortunes of the Victoria Football Club, every bit as structured an organization as the Edmonton Hockey Club, perhaps even more so. Mayor Edmiston himself became president, in addition to serving on the Edmonton Cricket Club's "management committee." The extensive governing body was not matched, however, by the same natural civic rivalries in soccer as in hockey. The adversary most often faced by the Edmonton soccer team was an aggregation from Stony Plain to the west. The problem was not Edmonton's but simply the lack of competitors, for the Edmonton club sponsored two teams graded according to ability. The second of these was reduced to engaging the public school team for competition; the first team sometimes took on a so-called "old school" team. Edmonton's soccer enthusiasts were ready and willing to represent Edmonton before audiences, but in 1898 opportunities rarely arose.[27] Soccer's lack illustrated well the importance of a rival to attract spectators for an eager urban representative team. The same situation prevented local rugby players from finding a competitor any closer than Regina.[28]

The Edmonton Cricket Club faced a similar predicament: the ambitious organization at the local level apropos of civic representation in inter-community play which almost never materialized. The best opposition to be mustered in 1898 was from Fort Saskatchewan in competition for a cup offered the champion by the relevant committee responsible for that aspect of the "Dominion Day Sports" extravaganza. Despite twice weekly practices, the cricket team might as well, in the prairie vacuum, have remained as unorganized in the Edmontons as were the familiar games of baseball and lacrosse. Many cricket games played in 1898 were such casual affairs as the August match pitting men over thirty against men under thirty years of age.[29]

Even so, the Edmontons stood on the threshold of substantial development in spectator sport, the purchase of vicarious competitive experience by a populace well used to consumption of others' products or services. One indicator was the newspaper coverage of sports events, not developed to the extent of a separate page for sports news, but certainly at the point of keen regular attention to those contests which were organized. The batting and bowling averages of the cricket players so solemnly published at year's end must suggest the coming seriousness with which more and more representative sport would be treated. True, few sport professionals performed in the Edmontons in 1898, and they did so only fleetingly in the style of a wonderful display, like "world amateur skating champion" J. K. McCullough. Edmontonians were sports consumers only in the initial stages, even as Edmonton was urban only in embryo form, but it was a year of great expectations.

One popular form of sports participation and especially of spectatorship in these small towns was the sports day usually organized on the special occasion of a statutory holiday. Planning for Dominion Day was entrusted by Edmonton town Council to a plethora of committees, all responsible to a supervisory executive committee for athletics, racing and track events. The Dominion Day program was staged north of the river for both South Edmonton and Edmonton as well as for people of the surrounding regions. No other occasion could rival the Dominion Day weekend for athletic striving. On June 30 and July 1, team matches in football, baseball and cricket were staged at the same time as bicycle and horse races, track and field competitions (known as "athletic sports") and a gun club tournament. All the physical efforts were enlivened by the music of the Edmonton brass band, the St. Albert mission band and a Highland piper in costume. The presence of the musicians added spectacle to the competition. And, in fact, 1,500 spectators were reported to have attended on June 30 (a Thursday) and 3,000 on Friday. Even allowing for occasional repeat counts of individuals leaving, then returning, these figures indicate either a marked involvement of the towns' residents and gold-hunting transients, or a considerable drawing power on the farmers of the surrounding countryside - in either case, a significant demonstration of urban function.[30] The consumers, apparently, liked the smorgasbord format of sports delights.

It was repeated on two other occasions. For the Queen's birthday on May 24, a South Edmonton Sports Committee planned the horse, foot and bicycle races for prizes at the South Edmonton Agricultural Society Grounds. In the fall, the South Edmonton Agricultural Society Exhibition provided much the same recreation. Though they were staged on one side or other of the river, and involved athletic rivalries, there was no mistaking the single community those celebrations served. One might even speculate about the overall camaraderie fostered by the keen competitive edge, developed initially between adversaries on the field, when it was carried over into subsequent barroom fist fighting, wrestling and general rough and tumble.[31]

Substantial public organization for recreation along traditional lines established elsewhere belied the small population of the Edmontons in 1898. Was all that collective form necessary in so intimate a community? Yet complex organizational structure held the promise of greater variety and professionalism in the future for the benefit of increasing crowds of spectators. The opportunity for vicarious enjoyment would depend on doing away with village intimacy. The trend was clear, as long as the expected boom of the Edmontons materialized.

Footnotes

1. For a discussion of some of these ideas, with footnotes to other references, see Carl Betke, "The Social Significance of Sport in the City: Edmonton in the 1920s," in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1975), 212-213, 222-223.

2. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), December 20, 1897, January 10, 20, 27, February 3, 17, 24, October 24, November 21, December 1, 8, 19, 1898.

3. EB, January 6, February 3, March 14, April 21, 28, June 27, October 24, 31, December 8, 29, 1898; Alberta Plaindealer (AP), February 3, March 3, 1898.

4. EB, May 16, 23, June 20, July 11, 1898; AP, May 18, 1898.

5. EB, August 15, September 8, 15, October 10, November 7, 1898; AP, May 25, 1898.

6. EB, January 17, July 14, 18, 25, September 5, 15, 1898.

7. EB, January 10, February 3, March 14, 31, April 14, 1898.

8. EB, March 28, 1898.

9. EB, November 21, 25, 1898.

10. AP, March 30, 1898.

11. EB, January 13, 17, 31, March 17, 28, May 5, 1898.

12. EB, January 17, February 14, 17, 24, May 12, 1898.

13. EB, July 4, 21, August 4, 8, September 8, 26, December 15, 19, 1898.

14. EB, August 18, 29, 1898; AP, August 19, 1898.

15. AP, June 29, September 9, 16, 1898; EB, June 13, 27, 1898.

16. EB, June 23, 27, July 11, 14, 1898.

17. EB, February 3, June 6, 13, 20, 27, 1898.

18. EB, January 31, September 12, 19, 1898.

19. EB, May 12, 16, June 16, 1898. On the Canadian Wheelmen's Association and the popularity of cycling, see S. F. Wise, "Sport and Class Values in Old Ontario and Quebec," in W. H. Heick and Roger Graham, eds., His Own Man: Essays in Honour of Arthur Reginald Marsden Lower (Montreal/London, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1974), 113.

20. EB, April 21, May 2, 5, 9, June 23, July 18, September 12, 1898.

21. EB, July 11, September 12, 1898; AP, July 6, September 16, 1898.

22. EB, March 31, June 2, 27, July 4, 1898; AP, July 6, 1898.

23. EB, April 18, May 12, 1898.

24. EB, January 10, March 24, April 4, November 3, 1898.

25. EB, January 27, February 3, 24, 1898.

26. EB, January 27, February 7, 14, March 7, 10, October 10, November 3, December 29, 1898; AP, February 24, March 10, December 23, 1898.

27. EB, May 12, 16, 23, 26, June 13, 23, September 12, 19, 1898.

28. EB, September 15, 1898.

29. EB, April 26, June 24, July 11, August 4, 11, 1898; AP, May 25, 1898.

30. EB, June 27, July 4, 1898; AP, July 13, 1898.

31. EB, May 23, 26, 30, June 9, October 6, 1898; AP, May 11, 1898; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 189-190.

SECTION TWO: EDMONTON IN 1906

Chapter 8: The People.

Edmonton in 1906 had changed dramatically from its humble nineteenth century state, and the principal dynamic was immigration. In Edmonton city were counted 11,167 residents; in Strathcona town 2,921: in all, over 14,000 citizens of whom four-fifths were new-comers since 1898. The late nineteenth century stability suggested by the presence in 1898 of equal numbers of males and females was replaced by the frontier condition indicated by a clear majority of men over women. Nearly 60 percent of the population was male in 1906. Among the 2,749 family units reported must have been plenty of unattached men, far fewer single women. The booming urban centres were set in the midst of a prospering agricultural countryside where two or three times the farmers laboured in 1906 as had in 1901; still, the city - particularly Edmonton proper - outdistanced the country in rate of population growth.[1]

Not just the expansion, but the expansionism of the towns is strikingly illustrated by an analysis of the activities represented in the business directory section of Henderson's Directory for 1906. While many entrepreneurs still supplied domestic goods or services, and many professionals practised, the dramatic escalation since 1898 had taken place in the fields related to property development. Their proportions of the town's business in 1898 had seemed insignificant, but in 1906 real estate agencies (seventy-three), building contractors (forty-three), building material merchants (twenty-three) and insurance agencies (twenty-nine) dominated advertising. Expansion of population and accommodation had shown a very specific source of profit in the Edmontons.[2]

Edmonton city, excluding Strathcona, was sufficiently impressive numerically to warrant a directory which listed a specific address for each entry. It gives evidence of definite division of the population into more and less well-to-do residential locations. West of First Street, especially the first six streets, and particularly south of Jasper Avenue, close to the North Saskatchewan River banks, was the domain of prosperous businessmen, professionals and senior civil servants. (See map on page 277.) East of First Street and mainly north of Jasper Avenue were the labourers, tradesmen, marginal businessmen and alien ethnic newcomers. A larger proportion of the prosperous lived in the east end, however, than could be found of the less well-off in the west end, for many established veterans continued to reside in the area which had once been the village core, but which was now rarely chosen by well-healed newcomers. Some of the older residents in the east end were less than pleased with the transformation they thought they perceived taking place. Two delegations protested the granting of a liquor license to the new International Hotel situated at the corner of east end Boyle and Kinistino Streets.

> The ground of objection taken was that the hotel was in the midst of a Galician settlement, and the bar of the hotel would be patronized by these Galicians and made a resort by them. Messrs. Bishop, Blaney and others claimed that the Galicians were very unruly when under the influence of strong drink.

The congratulation of the provincial government and Premier Rutherford by the Bulletin editor for "the establishment of the Galatian [sic] schools in the district north of the C.N.R." was a positive manifestation of that attitude.[3]

Despite the entry of more European immigrants into Edmonton than ever before, the nature of the city was, if anything, even more predominantly Anglo-Saxon than it had been before the turn of the century. This is explained by the relatively static situation of the French speaking population, whose strength of better than 500 comprised a decreasing proportion of the total, swelling as that was with people of Anglo-Saxon origin. Putting a generous construction on the matter, one might credit to the French population five percent of the whole; all other ethnic groups together certainly no more than ten percent. Of the latter element, those with Germanic names made up roughly half. These would presumably have been born in German, Austro-Hungarian, American or Canadian territories. A German community was clearly visible: there were German Lutheran and Baptist clergymen serving both sides of the river, a thriving German "Edelweiss" Club, a German Book Store and a locally published German language newspaper called the Alberta Herold.

Other groups had so far been institutionally almost as unnoticeable as they were numerically - two or three hundred people of Slavic or other east European extraction, fewer than a hundred each of Scandinavians, Jews, East Asians and Dutch. But Jews and certain east European groups had just created religious congregations - a first toehold - while the more all embracing Catholic congregation found it necessary to arrange sermons in seven languages - French, English, German, Polish, Galician, Ruthenian and Cree. Laundry and restaurant services were favourite and obvious Chinese enterprises, and the Chinese were inevitably curiosities of special interest. That Chinese individuals were robbed, shot at, engaged in street fighting, and charged with violating the Lord's Day Act for carrying a bundle of laundry along a downtown street were stories reported with relish. Fascination about what might be going on in the back rooms of Chinese restaurants was as keen in 1906 as it was in the early 1890s. According to one report, a police raid on four Chinese restaurants uncovered a "regular hop-joint in full swing" in one of them, and plenteous supplies of beer, whiskey, "the solace of the poppie of India" and women.[4]

The Ukrainian peoples - mainly from the Austro-Hungarian province of Galicia - who had been streaming into Alberta for almost a decade had for the most part bypassed Edmonton itself in favour of nearby farm land, but certain urban institutions were beginning to appear. Neither Russian nor Ukrainian Orthodox Church organization had yet been established, but the Roman Catholic church had given attention particularly to those of Greek Catholic background. Basilian missionaries since late 1902 attracted Ukrainians to St. Joachim's and Ste. Anne's parishes with Ukrainian language masses and music, and they stimulated the construction of the separate St. Josephat's church in 1904. They were accompanied by four teaching Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate who, while they themselves learned

English in 1902-3, taught Edmonton Ukrainian youth the formal language, church music, folk songs, religion and handicrafts. Absent at the Beaver Lake settlements near Mundare after 1903, on their return to St. Josephat's church in 1905 they initiated daily comprehensive instruction for Ukrainian language appupils. Simultaneously, fledgling cultural institutions appeared. In individual homes were established two or three "Chytalnia" (cultural) societies, in which Paul Rudyk seems to have been instrumental. Rudyk was the merchant and real estate dealer responsible for the construction of that east end International Hotel, the licensing of which surrounding residents had unsuccessfully resisted. Rudyk's home was also, however, apparently the site of the origin of a Ukrainian Labour Fraternity ("Rivnist") which would, among other things, have the effect of fostering socialist ideals.[5]

In August, 1906 ten Jewish Edmontonians gathered to found the Edmonton Hebrew Association. Much of the drive was supplied by three key Jewish individuals: Abraham Cristall, William Diamond and Hyman Goldstick. Cristall, elected president, was a veteran of a childhood of poverty in Bessarabia on the banks of the Dniester before developing a prospering business career in Edmonton from an 1893 cartage business through a general store and finally the "Cristall Palace" clothing store and considerable real estate holdings. His isolation from a substantial Jewish community had driven him and his family temporarily to San Francisco, from where they had just returned. Diamond, the vice-president, was another clothing merchant, an aggressive newcomer from Calgary. Goldstick, a native of Courland (later Latvia), had come to Edmonton, by way of Germany, England, New York, New Jersey and Toronto, specifically to take on the formal teaching and religious leadership duties for the Association and the Edmonton Hebrew Congregation of Beth Israel it fostered. To Goldstick fell the task of uniting the peoples of sundry geographic and religious traditions for the common cause.[6]

The alien presence, though still rather small, would have been quite noticeable for its strangeness. Something different was happening to the French speaking community. Despite - or in response to - its proportional decline, it was in its most determined organizational period. Its leadership maintained close social contact by frequent private "soirees," usually card parties followed by musical presentations and refreshments. The entire French language community celebrated important anniversaries together, most notably Saint Jean Baptiste Day, when the range of fellowship was extended to encompass French speaking Catholics in several nearby villages. The Saint Jean Baptiste Society was never stronger in Edmonton. A new communications medium for the separate French community appeared in September, 1905 to continue publication until early 1916. Le Courrier de L'Ouest was founded by general merchant Prosper Edmond Lessard and Dr. Phillippe Roy, the former soon to become a provincial cabinet minister, the latter a Senator from the date of the Alberta provincial inauguration in September 1905 and "perhaps the dominant political personality" of French Edmonton. A medical graduate from Laval University in Quebec, as soon as he arrived in Edmonton

Roy saw his role as the protector of local French rights through the agency of the Liberal party.[7]

The effort at cultural survival in such a diminishing proportional position seemed to require a strong drive for good relations with non-French speaking Edmonton. The good will of the majority was essential; so too was cooperation to ensure the successful development as a whole of the society in which they formed a distinctive part. There was some social exchange between French and English language elites, enough to result in a number of marriage ties despite apparent warnings of Catholic clergymen who worried that the French language would in this way court the danger of local disappearance. Helen Young, daughter of the well-known senior Hudson's Bay Company official, Harrison Young, married Dr. Phillippe Roy. Beatrice and Margaret Beck were daughters of crown prosecutor Nicholas D. Beck, soon to be appointed Supreme Court Judge. Beatrice became the wife of H. Milton Martin, whose real estate and other business involvements left him time to act as Belgian consul. Margaret married barrister John C. Landry. The secretary-treasurer of Le Courier de L'Ouest, Adeodat Boileau, married Ethel Finn. Some of these alliances linked French speaking Edmonton families to important Edmonton families of the past and future. Roy's daughter, for example, could trace family connections through the Young family and the missionary McDougalls to Lord Strathcona and the Lougheeds; her marriage would eventually bring her into the Southam family.[8]

As some of their priests evidently feared, such close relationships between important French and English language families tended to favour the language of the dominant population, while the brave efforts to maintain certain separate institutions would gradually lose their significance in the face of mounting non-French immigration. But in 1906 they were quite noticeable, responding with energy to the challenge posed by the issue of French language rights in the proposed new province of Alberta two years earlier. Before the federal government decided to continue the practice of a 1901 ordinance by which separate schools were allowed to teach only a primary grade in French, Edmonton's Saint Jean Baptiste Society had petitioned Laurier for full constitutional recognition in Alberta of French as an official language and language of school instruction.[9] The memory of that stand seems to have sustained a vigorous community for some years to follow.

The traditional residential focus of French Edmontonians in the far west vicinity of St. Joachim's parish continued, but many were scattered throughout the city. Quite a number were successful professionals or businessmen, of course, who took their places among the substantial dwellings of the nearer west end dominated by the prosperous English speaking set. In contrast, few among the ethnically alien newcomers found their homes in that relatively exclusive neighbourhood in 1906; most of them were labourers or tradesmen.[10] Had there been lawyers among them, they would in any case have had to compete with an apparent surfeit of those professionals from Ontario, at such a level that many incoming lawyers simply passed on through rather than attempt to compete.[11] More than forty resided in Edmonton alone; over three quarters of those for whom addresses were given lived in the west end. A nearly similar distribution was true for medical doctors' residences. Very few of either profession lived or centred their practices in Strathcona. Especially for professionals, financiers and senior civil servants, but largely for businessmen as well, the upper class residential focus was north of the river, west of First Street and south of Jasper Avenue.[12]

Biographical sources containing names of individuals recognized to be examples of local success in 1906 or soon afterward give us about 175 family units to consider. Of these, 108 could be connected with specific addresses in Henderson's Directory: those who lived at indeterminable locations in Strathcona must unfortunately be left out of the discussion. Of the 108 north siders, however, about 60 percent lived in the west end. The minority, usually newer and single, who boarded, roomed or lived at their places of business helped to swell the east end proportion. The hotels were mainly in the east end. So also were the majority of new, struggling businessmen, as opposed to the professionals or prosperous businessmen who were clustered in the west. In this broad category of Edmonton's public, professional and commercial leadership, it is clear, many in the east end were probably there by necessity rather than by choice. To put it another way, adding to the over-all proportion of those who were in the west end those who would reasonably aspire to get there, one would arrive at a proportion much greater than sixty percent. It is reasonable to assume that as they became established, many situated in temporary circumstances in the east would move into the west end or other upper income residential areas as they developed.[13]

Although some of the individuals included in the biographical sources had not by 1906 achieved irreversible prosperity or social stature, the great majority were representative of Edmonton's occupational leaders. General information emerging about them might well apply to a much wider group, although one still small enough to constitute Edmonton's successful commercial and professional upper class. The 175 family heads described would amount to about six percent of the total in Edmonton and Strathcona together, but might be representative of five, ten or fifteen percent more.[14]

The average age of these leaders (including those who had come before or during 1898 and were still in Edmonton) was forty in 1906. Among the veterans who were already in Edmonton by 1898 the average age was forty-six; for those who came later it was thirty-five. Taken together, though, they were about the same age as the comparable group in 1898, in the vigorous prime of their careers. Fewer than one-tenth were over fifty-five; more than half thirty-six to fifty-five; well over one-third twenty to thirty-five. The average date of their arrivals in Edmonton or Strathcona was 1897, when their mean age was thirty-one, little older than their counterparts had been in 1898. The majority of the 1906 group had come after 1898; these were about thirty-three on arrival and resident in Edmonton only two and one-half years by 1906.[15] The overall average was created, that is to say, by a balance of veterans with newcomers, which should alert us to the possibility of a somewhat unstable leadership or, if not that, a miraculous unanimity of ambitions or a temporary retention of established leadership. It is worth keeping in mind, too, that three-quarters of Edmonton's population (including Strathcona's) was new since 1898. This overwhelming quantitative overweight to the incoming flood is not reflected in the biographical sample. Thus the short Edmonton experience of the newcomers attains special significance when spread over so large a proportion of all 1906 businessmen, professionals and public servants.

The newcomers were even more predominantly from other parts of Canada, especially Ontario, than were their predecessors. More than three-quarters were Canadian born, more than one-half Ontario born. Most of the remainder were born in Great Britain (none in Ireland). Fewer of the newcomers' mothers and fathers were born in Great Britain, more in Canada. Their central and maritime "Canadianism" therefore had deeper roots. Still, about half the parents for whom the information is available had been born in Great Britain, half in Canada, a greater proportion of mothers than fathers Canadian born.[16] The fathers' occupations were much the same as for the fathers of those who arrived by 1898: nearly one-half of those reported were farmers, one-fifth businessmen of varying scale, and one-tenth each were professionals, tradesmen or government employees. A slight increase in the means of the 1906 fathers over the 1898 sample was barely perceptible. Independent livelihoods and the absence of the urban poor and labouring classes still characterized the fathers of the incoming business and professional leaders of Edmonton.[17]

The newcomers brought a different balance of religious affiliations. Whereas in 1898 Presbyterians were unchallenged in their primacy, with only Catholics and Anglicans significantly represented in diminishing order of importance, in 1906 the Presbyterian dominance and the Catholic presence were eroded by increased numbers of Anglicans and Methodists. Presbyterians were still the largest group, at over two-fifths of the total, but one-quarter of the sample were Anglicans and one-sixth were Methodists. Catholics fell from one-quarter of the 1898 group to one-tenth of the 1906 group as a result of very few additions in the interim. Protestants were even more firmly in charge in Edmonton in 1906, and the balance among Presbyterians, Anglicans and Methodists had become somewhat closer than previously, although Presbyterians were still by far the most noticeable.[18] Again, since old-timers were disproportionately represented in this 1906 sample, the changes after 1898 whould probably be emphasized more than the mere statistics indicate.

More of the newcomers grew up in Ontario specifically and in Canada generally than of old-timers. The effect was simply to strengthen the pattern already established. Nearly four-fifths of the sample were now Canadian raised, over one-half in Ontario. British childhoods were proportionately fewer - a mere one-sixth - to make up for the Canadian increase. The educational level was gradually rising, over half in 1906 having gone beyond high school. Universities, particularly professional schools, were sending a greater proportion of graduates, while fewer with trade school, apprenticeship or business college training entered Edmonton's prosperous class. The majority still grew up in rural or village settings, but the proportion from town or city boyhoods was increasing.[19]

The adult careers of most before coming to Edmonton or Strathcona involved, as in the Edmonton of 1898, time in Ontario or the Canadian west or both. Many other locations were visited, but these amounted altogether to about the same statistical significance as each of the former two areas alone. Either in one of these places or in Edmonton later (very few), most took wives who were generally Canadian in origin, almost half from Ontario. A few were British born, a few western Canadian residents. They were in background very similar to their spouses. Relatively young, but not straight from their education or training, half of the future Edmontonians left their original occupations to come to Edmonton or Strathcona. Nearly one-third came from two separate prior livelihoods. Only a few came directly to their first positions in Edmonton, or on the other hand, after a restless search through three or four preliminary experiences. Most had demonstrated or were demonstrating their willingness to move for better opportunity, but had not shown excessive readiness to leap from enterprise to enterprise for short terms.[20]

When they came to Edmonton or Strathcona they were, perhaps even more so than their peers who came before the agricultural boom, outsiders perceiving vacuums they might successfully fill. This was not to be, for the time being, a city built from the surrounding population; rather, the prosperity of its leading citizens would depend on filling the countryside with new settlers. In Edmonton and Strathcona the service occupations were characteristic of leading citizens in the biographical sample to an even greater extent than in 1898. Four-fifths of those recorded were engaged in professions (29%), trade (14%), real estate and financial services (14%), and other services (21% - half in the newly arrived phenomenon, government). Government positions (11%), in fact, outnumbered businessmen in agriculture - related manufacturing or sales enterprises (9%) or construction related endeavours (8%). All other occupation categories were virtually unrepresented.[21]

During the Christmas season of 1905 there appeared for the first time in Edmonton The Saturday News, a weekly newspaper edited and managed by a former editor of the Woodstock (Ontario) Sentinel-Review, A. Balmer Watt. The new Edmonton newspaper featured a substantial women's section The Mirror, written by the editor's wife who signed her column "Peggy". The subsection entitled "Home and Society" was devoted to details of the entertainments indulged in principally by those women who associated with one another in the guise of Edmonton's embryo elite. These social contacts may reveal - imperfectly perhaps, but as one kind of evidence - the degree to which there was some distinction between Edmonton's merely well-to-do and a smaller social elite. In these columns may be found both the identities of the members and something of their extra-occupational diversions and preoccupations.[22]

Certain prescribed types of entertainment filled their social calendars. In the afternoons ladies would announce their intentions of being "at home" to receive invited guests in their drawing rooms and to take tea and coffee in elaborately decorated tea rooms. The easily caricatured procedure was always the same, involving a number of assistants besides the hostess. On one occasion, for example, "Mrs. Dr. Ferris' pretty home on Fifth St. was the Mecca towards which many wended their way to have a pleasant chat over the 'teacups' and a gracious greeting from the hostess of the afternoon."

> In the tea-room Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Braithwaite, Mrs. Mays, Mrs. Pardee and Mrs. McPherson took turns in relieving each other pouring tea and coffee. Mrs. Turnbull presided at a side table where the ices were served.
>
> . . . .
>
> Miss Ferris, Miss Taylor, Miss Lynch and Miss Willis were four pretty and attentive assistants.
>
> During the afternoon Clark's Orchestra played a varied programme of selections, adding very much to what proved a very jolly and enjoyable "At Home."[23]

Postal incompetence came in for severe criticism when it once seemed responsible for the disastrous failure of ten invitations to reach their destinations.[24] "Recherche" luncheons might occasionally vary the fare for ladies, but tea was usually the focus for day-time receptions. The "younger set" were sometimes treated to special tea arrangements as well.

The first opportunities were provided in 1906 for larger symbolic public displays of this kind of social activity as a result of the elevation of Edmonton to the status of capital city. Occasional formal official receptions were henceforth offered at Government House, and the first of these on the afternoon of February 15 was alleged to have "caused quite a flutter in social circles," whose "fair women and dignified cavaliers turned out en masse to grace the occasion." Except that gentlemen joined the ladies for this grand version, it resembled the smaller "At Homes" to a remarkable degree. Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Bulyea "received their callers at the entrance to the drawing-room, Mrs. Bulyea looking exceedingly well in a handsome costume of white embroidered cashmere," while "in the tearoom several young gentlemen looked after the comfort of the guests."[25] The social behaviour of the official leading couple in the capital city thus sanctioned and set the standard for entertainments of those with pretensions to similar if not equal status.

Another reception was held at Government House on a December evening, the difference being that guests enjoyed the "freedom of the house" and the availability of such diversions as the Billiard Room. Once again this can be seen as a highly polished version of more widespread evening private parties where the card game known as "500" was in 1906 "quite the rage in Edmonton, all other games of cards giving way before it." One such evening in March at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Donald MacDonald "was a most delightful one, everyone enjoyed the keenly contested games, which resulted in several of the guests winning very handsome prizes. A dainty supper concluded what proved a very enjoyable evening."[26]

In larger numbers, all joined together to attend dances given, sometimes by the Mounted Police officers and men at

Fort Saskatchewan where "the mess-room was decorated in true military style, swords and guns playing a large part in the general scheme," sometimes by the "Bachelors of Edmonton" or the "Bachelor Maids," sometimes by private groups of individuals:

> Never in its long and eventful history did Robertson's Hall present a gayer picture than on Tuesday evening [February 27] when five [sic] of Edmonton's most popular "boys," Messers Mowat, Biggar, H. W. Supple, Harry Cooper, Richard Hardisty and J. K. Kennedy not to forget an equally good fellow, Mr. J. K. Cornwall were "At Home" at a jolly dance to their numerous friends....promptly at half-past eight as Mr. and Mrs. Richardson stuck up the first note of one of the popular dances, the old hall presented such a charming womanhood, lovely gowns and gay young cavaliers as did one good to see. Everyone came expecting a jolly evening and it is safe to say not one left disappointed.

W. A. Griesbach, a favourite of "The Mirror's" editor in the social news, and the Mayoralty candidate who at year's end received the backing of The Saturday News, characterized the inaugural Lieutenant-Governor's "Grand Ball in the Thistle Rink, at which all the men wore tails and the women wore imported costumes" as an attempt at "the very latest thing in entertainments of that sort."

> There were programmes with rendezvous stations; both men and women wore gloves and there was a state set of Lancers. In fact, nothing was left undone that anyone had ever heard of as being done in the more fashionable centres of the east....We felt that we had definitely been launched as a social centre.[27]

The specific identity of the hosts was unimportant; if dances were reported in The Mirror they tended to include much the same guests each time. They had the advantage over private card parties of exercise and the opportunity to bring the entire elite community together in one of the halls or the elegant Prince Arthur Cafe.

The last establishment, immodestly boasting a "high class character" unmatched in Canada west of Toronto, was often also the scene of luncheons or dinners for groups of influential men of the city, particularly when an important Edmontonian or visitor was to be honoured. When the general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce arrived, for instance, he was tendered a "most elaborate luncheon" in the banquet hall of the Prince Arthur Cafe before meeting at a private dinner Premier Rutherford, Mayor May, Mr. Justice Scott and several prominent professional businessmen of Edmonton. The Prince Arthur did have a "Rose Pink Room or Ladies' Parlour," and ladies' luncheons did occasionally take place at "Cronn's" (R. B. Cronn was proprietor of the Alberta Cafe[28]), but for the most part, during the daytime, the elite luncheons of Edmonton's ladies and gentlemen were segregated, ladies' at home, gentlemen's downtown.

Finally, the social veneer could be detected as well in some reports of athletic events. Peculiarly little or nothing was made of horsemanship among Edmonton's elite, in striking contrast to the situation in Calgary.[29] Nevertheless, the social elite assembled together for other activities: in private skating parties and within the organization of cricket, golf and the Anglican St. Paul's clubs for athletic and quieter recreations. Cricket, wrote the Saturday News editor, would of all sports impart to Edmonton the greatest benefit.

> By it we can attract men from all parts of the Empire and strengthen the Imperial bond, as we can in hardly any other way. Why is it that Australia

> up till recent years has been closer to the heart of the Britisher than our own country? Principally because of the cricket matches between British and Australian teams. Much as we admire our friends across the line, and heartily as we desire to welcome them as citizens, we do not want the Canadian west to become Americanized. We want it to develop along British lines in sport as in other things.

Whatever else it might mean, "British lines" for Edmontonians involved a genteel approach to cricket. At Edmonton cricket games tea would be served between innings under the presiding guidance of one of the same ladies who practised the technique "at home."[30] Many of those ladies were active golfers, the club organization of that sport suiting particularly well the social needs of Edmonton's elite.

"At home" tea receptions, luncheons, card parties, dances, cricket - all gave prominent place to one particular characteristic: display, or facade. The Mirror's editor might bravely declare her pleasure with the relative absence of facade in ordinary business dealings in Edmonton. No Edmonton woman taking in boarders, she contended, would use the "eastern" excuse of doing it for the need of company. "Your future house mistress doesn't evade the point that she is in it for the money," nor would an Edmonton wash woman submit to "the unsatisfactory home request of giving for the family wash whatever I see fit. It's business and straight talk in Edmonton."[31] But on the other hand, she was immediately sensitive to any criticism of the social devices of polite conversation or entertainment rituals common in her own social circle. When she learned that one "authoress" was basing a lecture tour on decrying "blimming," or "talking pleasantly and saying nothing," Mrs. Watt reacted with the defensive observation that "to be popular, and who doesn't covet that epithet, means ... 'blimming' and keeping the world off."[32] That last objective might be sought by a whole social set as well as by an individual member of it.

Again, when an Ontario editor criticized Toronto newspapers for publishing too much frivolous "society news" with the effect of glossing over the sordid realities which might underlie the facade, the Mirror editor castigated the "stupid man" for wanting "to know what's better left untold."[33] How much better to strive in entertainment for ethereal heights approaching the perfect realm of fantasy. Should the display at the functions themselves fall at all short of the mark, they were embellished to the necessary degree in the newspaper reports. Both surroundings and ladies' attire received the full treatment. "The tea table was the daintiest imaginable;" the decorations "formed the prettiest effects possible," and the "daintily pretty little hostess" herself "looked a picture" in all descriptions. Never did any of these effects fail to attain the ultimate superlative in the columns of The Saturday News. At the first Government House reception,

> The tea-table was a piece de resistance, in the centre being a large cut-glass bowl of calla lillies, resting on a centre-piece of filmy Teneriffe lace. Running diagonally across the table were wide ribbon streamers of pale green satin caught at the corners in huge bows, the soft light shed from the dome electrolier in art tones of pale yellow blending with the tints of the red and yellow wall decorations, completing a very attractive picture....Among the callers...I noticed Mrs. Cross looking stunning in a dainty gown of cream voile, with the jauntiest of little French hats white, with trimmings of pale blue and a huge knot of exquisite violets.[34]

Reports of dances included ecstatic descriptions of one costume after another. These were intelligent people, one should never forget, and the spectacle was carried on in full knowledge of its artificiality. It could even be the object of an appreciative chuckle. One gentleman was allowed to present his male parody of the social descriptions to The Mirror's readers; it detracted not a whit from the subsequent continuation of the same kinds of affairs and reports of them.

> Mr. Harrison, although late, was as per usual very popular. He was particularly talkative and at making eyes was a decided success. His clothes were very neat and his pretty collar buttons were much admired. He was dressed in black and had boots on. Mr. Hector L. Landry looked awfully sweet, and we understand had a "bird of a time." His pretty diamond was much admired. Wore shoes. Mr. Billie Lines looked quite sweet in black, decorated with an awfully cute tie. His pretty compliments were much appreciated. Mr. A. Morton Brown was particularly noticed by his absence.

And so on.[35]

This amused glance at their social diversions should not detract us from a serious look at the people who carried them on and thought of themselves as forming the leadership of the city. The care taken to elevate their style of entertainment above the norm ought to alert us to their sense of their own special importance. At the most, 180 of those family units mentioned in The Mirror's columns could be identified with reasonable assurance by reference to Henderson's Directory as Edmonton or Strathcona residents or businessmen. Only six of these were Strathconans, for which the explanation can only be conjecture. Perhaps there was a parallel, well-defined, separate Strathcona elite on a smaller scale, or perhaps the same sort of social cohesion did not exist in the same way south of the river. Three of the six Strathconans, and perhaps 25 of the 180 total, made the list solely by virtue of invitation to the Lieutenant-Governor's reception without having been mentioned in connection with the private affairs. The total of 180 is a generous estimation, therefore, of Edmonton's social elite as defined by its entertainment circle.

Because the identifications by name sometimes involved choosing among several alternatives complicated by spelling abbreviations or lack of given initials, statistical observations about them must remain a little imprecise. This does not prevent recognition of clear patterns. Occupationally, professionals were markedly predominant. The group included not only the majority of the lawyers and doctors available, but also many accountants, several surveyors and engineers, and the occasional architect, dentist and teacher. Only one clergyman, Anglican Rev. Henry Allan Gray, was ever mentioned. Bank and other finance executives stood out in the ranks. Businessmen were not so strongly represented, although those associated with property development - contractors, hardware merchants, real estate and insurance entrepreneurs - were. There were several general merchants, but only a scattered sample of most other sorts of businessmen. Some senior officials in the new provincial civil service joined a number of federal public servants. Virtually no skilled artisans were on the list, certainly no labourers.

A number of individuals were young men just making a beginning. Many of them were clerks in the banks, other finance-related businesses, or provincial government departments. Besides the professions, therefore, perhaps the next most eligible career was in the financial field - the object to become a bank executive or accountant. It was thus no accident that lawyer W. A. Griesbach experimented first as a bank clerk before choosing law. Indeed, a military-style paternalism evidently protected the dignity of such a calling. Young clerks, we are told, were not allowed to marry until they were able to prove a certain level of personal financial solvency, exactly the same kind of responsibility demanded by British armed forces units and the Royal North West Mounted Police.[36] To be an officer in a bank was only less gentlemanly a calling than to be a military officer.

This was obviously a very "urban" group, its connections with the surrounding rural staple occupations apparently remote. The professional, the financial and perhaps the property development services preoccupied most. There is a certain irony to this observation when coupled with the tantalizing indications that the largest single proportion of them grew up on Ontario farms. The necessary information to make this absolutely certain is not easily available for all of them, but for about one-quarter of the total we do have the evidence in the biographical sources of the time.[37] Nearly half of those for whom the record is available claimed farmers for fathers, although several went so far as to describe them as prosperous farmers. The next largest group of fathers (but an almost insignificantly small one) were clergymen, mainly Anglican. Only two of this sample could boast notably prominent fathers. Dominion land agent Alexander Norquay's father had been Premier of Manitoba from 1878 to 1887; Bank of Montreal manager Edwin Charles Pardee's father had been an early Ontario cabinet minister.[38] Only two fathers in the restricted sample were military officers: lawyer W. A. Griesbach's father had been local divisional N.W.M.P. commanding officer; Anglican clergyman Henry Allan Gray's father was a British naval officer. This urban social elite of Edmonton may have been comprised for the most part of sons of farmers, clergymen and assorted humble businessmen of small-town Ontario, although such conjecture is easily deflated by reference to both the majority of fathers and all the mothers on whom no information is readily available.

They seem to have been staunchly Canadian. Two-thirds of the small portion of the Mirror sample for which biographical data can be analyzed were born in Ontario, another one-quarter in other parts of Canada, and only the remaining one-tenth in Great Britain.[39] The Ontario and Canadian preponderance gives special impetus to the aroused criticisms of certain immigrant Englishmen voiced in The Mirror. "No one has a greater admiration for our cousins over the water than I," began Mrs. Watt, "but you do resent the ill-breeding that seems to take particular delight in forever quoting the way one does such and such a thing in England, don't you know, to the disparagement of the methods employed under similar circumstances in Canada."[40] Perhaps the local irritation was only increased by the fact that the disdainful observations were coming from natives of the very society local social leaders most desired to emulate, if not surpass. Certainly the ethnic background of nearly all those born in Canada was British, though by no means overwhelmingly English. Furthermore for those on whom reports survive (about one-fifth of the total), pretty well one-half were Presbyterians, one-third Anglicans, the few remaining divided among Catholics, Methodists and Baptists.[41] From such a small proportion of the entire Mirror group it would be dangerous to make any more precise an observation than that Presbyterians and especially Anglicans appear to have had a far greater share of representation than was true for the general populace.

In comparison with the broader group identified in the biographies, this Mirror sample did not take public charge of civic leadership, whatever their influence might have been behind the scenes. In Strathcona, the Mirror "elite" had only two official civic representatives: Orlando Bush on the Public School Board and as President of the local Board of Trade; and Dr. S. Archibald as Health officer. No Strathcona alderman and only two of eight Edmonton aldermen (W. A. Griesbach and Robert Mays) were counted in The Mirror's social columns. Of the twenty top salaried civic officials in Edmonton, only two (city solicitor Nicholas D. Beck and medical health officer E. A. Braithwaite) represented this particular "elite." On the Edmonton Board of Trade (two vice-presidents and two of seven councillors) and the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association (four of nine Directors), representation would seem much better, but even that is misleading. Those two organizations were directed entirely by prominent Edmonton entrepreneurs, and the majority of leading positions were still filled by individuals not mentioned in The Mirror. Perhaps there is some alternative significance to the fact that they were well-represented in the school boards where other successful businessmen were not.[42] Perhaps they displayed a greater interest in educating Edmonton's society to their notion of its ideal behaviour.

If the social characteristics of the group identified in The Mirror were indeed different from those of the larger collection of successful men described in the biographical outlines, they may have instituted a distinctive group with a particular approach to social and even political leadership. Less business and more professionally oriented, at least as Canadian but perhaps with stronger attachments to British cultural baggage, and even more definitely concentrated in the west end of the city than the general group of successful men, they appeared to value genteel social cohesion above visible leadership in civic organizations. That they left a good deal of room for many others to have a hand in shaping Edmonton still begs the question to what extent their pretensions to form the urban leadership were realized in this period of rapid population growth.

Yet another analytical attempt to isolate an elite group in a community as young as the Edmontons might be made by studying the membership of a gentlemen's club not in existence in 1898: the Edmonton Club. By 1906 some 131 invividuals had been granted membership, but of course some probably left town after joining or lived out of town; in any case

106 of the names were listed in Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906. Only two or three were from Strathcona; the group was almost exclusively comprised of north siders. The great majority of their residences were in the west end, though not so marked a proportion as for those of The Mirror list. All the bank managers were included, as well as most of the lawyers; quite a number of doctors; several land surveyors, civil engineers and architects; a few building contractors and a number of merchants and manufacturers of building materials. The Lt. Governor, the Premier, some cabinet ministers and several provincial government employees were among them. A wide variety of small businessmen were represented, including some general merchants, real estate and insurance agents. The editors of the Journal and the Saturday News also belonged.[43]

For about two-fifths of them biographical information is available. Predictably, the birthplace of just over half of them was Ontario; of one-sixth was the Maritime provinces; of one-seventh was Quebec; and of merely one-tenth was England. The remaining tenth were born in the west of Canada or in the United States. Almost half were professionals (the majority lawyers); just over a tenth were contractors and building material producers or merchants; nearly another tenth were real estate promoters. A full fifth were merchants of domestic goods and a tenth were provincial or federal government dignitaries. Professionals - especially lawyers - were substantially over-represented among the biographical subjects. Of the three-quarters of this partial sample who reported their formal reli-

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gious affiliations, Anglicans were uncharacteristically over-represented with nearly two-fifths of the reporting members; Roman Catholics formed one-quarter, Presbyterians somewhat fewer than one-quarter. The few others were Baptists or Methodists.[44]

Only one-fifth of the Edmonton Club members of 1906 made all three exclusive lists; but only one-eighth of each of the biographical subjects or the individuals listed by the Mirror were so universally selected. What is to be made of this lack of unanimity in the identification of Edmonton's socially most important citizens? Perhaps that in so rapidly expanding a centre it was not yet easy to sort out the socially superior from the ordinary. Or that large numbers had been in the towns for so short a period that they did not yet know one another well enough to have sorted out universally recognized social distinctions, although a substantial segment of the population obviously agreed on the desirability of such distinctions for themselves. The task was not made any easier by the relatively homogeneous and mainly non-upper class backgrounds of the contenders for the honours.

A limited range of social backgrounds was evident among those who were publicly prominent in 1906. William A. Griesbach was one of the few born in the west (at Ft. Qu'Appelle) whose English-born father (a North-West Mounted Police commanding officer) occupied a position of status. Griesbach's education was therefore completed at St. John's College in Winnipeg, after which he sampled both law and bank offices before settling on law. His background also encouraged him to serve in the Canadian Mounted Rifles in the South African War and to place military command at the forefront of his interests. Another lawyer, Ontario-born William Short, moved to Calgary in the 1890s with a University of Toronto B. A. to study law, and then to Edmonton in 1894 to practise law and take a leading interest in civic affairs. Lawyers Albert F. Ewing and John R. Boyle both became Edmonton representatives in the provincial legislature, the one a Conservative and the other a Liberal, but both bringing Ontario experience. Ewing also had a University of Toronto degree, however, whereas Boyle began his legal training with a high school education and teaching experience.

But superior social background or education was clearly not a prerequisite for social success in Edmonton. The retiring and incoming Edmonton Board of Trade presidents, Alexander B. Campbell and Arthur T. Cushing, both Ontarions, had different levels of education, yet arrived at their positions in Edmonton by similar routes. Campbell established himself on the basis of his experience in his father's flour milling business. Cushing, despite his B. A., came to Edmonton because it seemed a logical place to expand his brother's Calgary lumber business. Edmonton's Mayor for 1906, Charles May, another Ontarion, having no more than public school education, transformed his Manitoba experience in homesteading, carpentry and railway construction into a building contractor's business when he moved to Edmonton in 1902. Strathcona Mayor William H. Sheppard left his Ontario public school education to work on railway construction projects in Ontario, the western American states and B. C. before setting up contracting and hotel businesses in

Alberta locations. He maintained a hotel in South Edmonton for ten years after 1894 and invested in a brewery in 1904 while participating actively in Strathcona civic affairs. The majority of those men were Ontario Presbyterians of a mixture of English, Scottish and Irish background; the notable exception was the Anglican, Griesbach.[45]

Thus, for professionals, businessmen, financial careerists, property salesmen and builders there was not only economic but also social opportunity. The question of the community's leadership had apparently been opened up to some extent by the rapid influx of newcomers. For the large number in the right ethnic and denominational categories (British, including Canadian, and Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist), in this period of unparalleled opportunity to take up "middle" class occupations and residential locations, a bold outlook to future economic and social advancement would not have been unrealistic. On the other hand, there was evidence that those who did not match up occupationally, ethnically or residentially occupied quite a separate world; that a recognizable chasm was developing between two parts of the Edmonton population.

Footnotes

1. Canada, Sessional Paper No. 17 (a), 6-7 Edward VII, 1907, *Census of Population and Agriculture of the Northwest Provinces ...1906* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1907), 70, 77, 101.

2. Computation of selected business categories for Edmonton and Strathcona advertised in the business directory section of *Henderson's Manitoba and North West Territories Gazetteer and Directory* for 1906.

3. Henderson's Manitoba and North West Territories Gazetteer and Directory for1906, at 459-540 for Edmonton (hereafter referred to as Henderson's Edmonton Directory) and at 1117-1123 for Strathcona (hereafter referred to as Henderson's Strathcona Directory); Edmonton Bulletin, June 21 and 27, 1906. Because Strathcona had only one-quarter the population of Edmonton, it did not rate a listing by addresses nor was every household head included, particularly at the lower end of the socio-economic scale. The generalizations made here resulted from surveying the occupations listed according to residential area. Almost all "labourers", for example, lived in the east end; three-quarters of lawyers and doctors lived in the west end.

4. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community of Edmonton, 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 59-60, 63-64; Elizabeth B. Gerwin, "A Survey of the German Speaking Population of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1938), 109-110; Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906; Ban Seng Hoe, Structural Changes of Two Chinese Communities in Alberta, Canada (Ottawa, National Museum of Man Mercury Series, 1976), 74-5 and 291; Edmonton Bulletin, February 27, March 5, 7, 10, 24, May 1, June 5, 1906.

In the Edmonton directory, with a more complete listing than Strathcona's, one may count about 185 Germanic and 65 Slavic/East European names; about a dozen Jewish names and a few Italian, Scandinavian and Dutch names, as well as a few about which I am uncertain. This rough survey cannot possibly be precise, because names do not always tell the full family tale. It does, however, reveal an alien ethnic component (that is, non-French and non-British names) of less than ten percent in Edmonton for 1906. About 80 percent of those so categorized lived in the east end of the city. Some 13 Chinese or other East Asian names can also be isolated, with their occupations and mainly - though not entirely - east end addresses.

5. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg/Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 63-67, 102, 151-2, 167-9; J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools...1891-1921 (Edmonton, Basilian Press of Toronto, Printers, 1958), 24-27, 32; Edmonton Bulletin, March 10, 1906.

6. Sid Bursten, "Edmonton: A Jewish Community in Perspective," The Jewish Post (March 3, 1966), 16; Tony Cashman, Abraham Cristall: The Story of a Simple Man (1963), 10-18; Taped interview with Hyman Goldstick by David Nelson, May 30 and June 5, 1973: Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton (hereafter referred to as P.A.A.).

7. Hart, "The History of the French Speaking Community," 59-75, 102-104.

8. Ibid., 75-77.

9. Ibid., 52-54.

10. See footnote 4 above.

11. The Edmonton newspaper, The Saturday News, December 23, 1905, blamed the overflow of lawyers on the notorious surplus in Ontario towns "for a long while back."

12. Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906 provide the identities of 45 lawyers. Three lived in Strathcona, seven east of 1st Street in Edmonton, 23 west of 1st Street and nine addresses were unlisted. Of 32 doctors, four lived in Strathcona, seven east of 1st Street, 17 west of 1st Street and four addresses were unlisted.

13. These conclusions derive from the evidence resulting from finding available 1906 addresses for those individuals described in the source identified in footnote 2 above; noting whether they were listed as boarders, roomers or householders in Henderson's Directory, and mapping them.

14. The authors of the biographical collections would be unlikely to have succeeded in securing information from all they judged potentially worthy of inclusion; on the other hand, they might have received much unsolicited information from others whose inclusion may not have been considered essential. The occupational categories into which the men fit were not by any means exhausted by those included, although in higher proportion for some (lawyers and doctors) than others.

15. See Appendix I, Tables A and B.

16. See Appendix I, Tables C and D.

17. See Appendix I, Table F.

18. See Appendix I, Table E.

19. See Appendix I, Tables G, H and I.

20. See Appendix I, Tables J, K and L.

21. See Appendix I, Table M.

22. The microfilmed copy of The Saturday News held at P.A.A. includes for 1906 all issues to and including May 19, and after and including September 15. The intervening summer issues are unfortunately missing.

23. Ibid., January 20, 1906, 11.

24. Ibid., January 27, 1906, 8.

25. Ibid., February 17, 1906, II.

26. Ibid., March 3, 1906, 9.

27. Ibid., 12; W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 327-8.

28. The Saturday News, September 29, 1906, 2; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1906, 485.

29. L. G. Thomas, "The Rancher and the City: Calgary and the Cattlemen, 1883-1914," Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (June, 1968), 203-215.

30. The Saturday News, September 22, 1906, 11 and 15. See also the January 6 edition, 10.

31. Ibid., January 13, 1906, 3.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., February 3, 1906, 9.

34. Ibid., February 17, 1906, 11.

35. Ibid., March 3, 1906, 11.

36. Ibid., February 13, 1906, 3; Griesbach, I Remember, contains a section on his brief contemplation of a banking career before giving it up for law and militia.

37. See Appendix II.

38. John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, volume 3, (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924), 197-9; 330-31.

39. See Appendix II, Table B.

40. The Saturday News, February 24, 1906, 8.

41. See Appendix II, Table A.

42. Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906, 465-68 and 1117-8. See also Appendix II, Table C.

43. The Edmonton Club. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members (Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913) provided the names which were checked for further information against Henderson's Edmonton and Strathcona Directories for 1906.

44. See Appendix III.

45. See information in the biographical capsules for these men found in A. O. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta, 2 volumes (The Western Canada History Company, 1912) and John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, volumes 2 and 3 (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924). See also Griesbach, I Remember.

Chapter 9: Economic Expansion.

The economic development of Edmonton leading up to 1906 was very much a story of railways and real estate. Real estate speculation was the obvious measure of Edmonton's prosperity for visitors, but the special advantage acquired by Edmonton which was the foundation for the rising property values was the convergence on the city of railways. Transcontinental railways received the earnest attention of both the Strathcona and Edmonton municipal councils for their importance in locating the specific metropolitan centre of the region, but initially their very appearance in the vicinity was a function of decisions made by two external railway companies. The first was the Canadian Northern Railway, whose chief promoters, William Mackenzie and Donald Mann, had in 1898 acquired the charter to a local railway when the previous owners, maritimers A. G. Blair, George McAvity and William Pugsley, gave up their dream of a combined rail and water transportation route to the Yukon. With grandiose visions of their own, Mackenzie and Mann christened their new project the "Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railway." Its significance, however, was the local popularity gained for the promoters by a remarkably short bit of construction within Edmonton. When the necessary bridge over the North Saskatchewan was completed in April, 1900, Mackenzie and Mann used their new railway charter to link the head of the Calgary and Edmonton Railway in Strathcona with Edmonton. They were to begin the two mile project in May, 1901 and finish it in October of the same year, but did not actually get the "abandoned American equipment" they mainly depended upon in place until spring, 1902. Nevertheless, it was the start of railway competition in Edmonton for the long established C.P.R.[1]

Even then the line was not operational, for the connection of the two railways was blocked by the C.P.R., a company well aware of the significance of the link. Ostensibly the interfering issue was the question of which company would operate the new line after it was connected to the old: the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, the C.P.R. which managed its operations, or Mackenzie and Mann. The C.P.R. refused to transport passengers or freight on a railway belonging to rivals Mackenzie and Mann; yet when the latter themselves completed the connection, the C.P.R. resisted that too, apparently with a degree of actual illegal physical interference. Such decided enmity to a measure craved by Edmontonians only added to that community's well-established resentment toward the C.P.R.

The federal government had earlier reserved for the C.P.R. all unclaimed odd sections in the vast areas of the first and second Northern Reserves southeast, east and north of Edmonton. Favours had been done for a company widely believed not merely sympathetic but straightforwardly dedicated to the futures of Edmonton's rivals, Strathcona and Calgary. As a result of a new lease negotiated in 1901, the C.P.R. would manage the Calgary and Edmonton line for ninety-nine years, acquire all capital stock and eventually all first mortgage bonds, and thus have total effective control despite the continued corporate existence of the C and E company. Although C.P.R. control of huge blocks of land about Edmonton did not mean a direct, active administration of land policy by the C.P.R., the subsidiary firm to which most of its land subsidy was turned over, the Calgary and Edmonton Land Company, was controlled by the same men - Osler, Hammond and Nanton - associated regularly with C.P.R. land policy in the west. The land company's objective was traditionally a gradual sale for long-term speculative profit rather than quick sale for immediate productive agricultural occupation. The considerable western grievance against the C.P.R., blamed for separating settlers and making educational and other services both physically and financially burdensome by holding good land out of reach, could only be intensified for urban Edmontonians depending on agricultural production to boost their own fortunes. In defying the C.P.R., then, Mackenzie and Mann won the appreciation of north side businessmen.

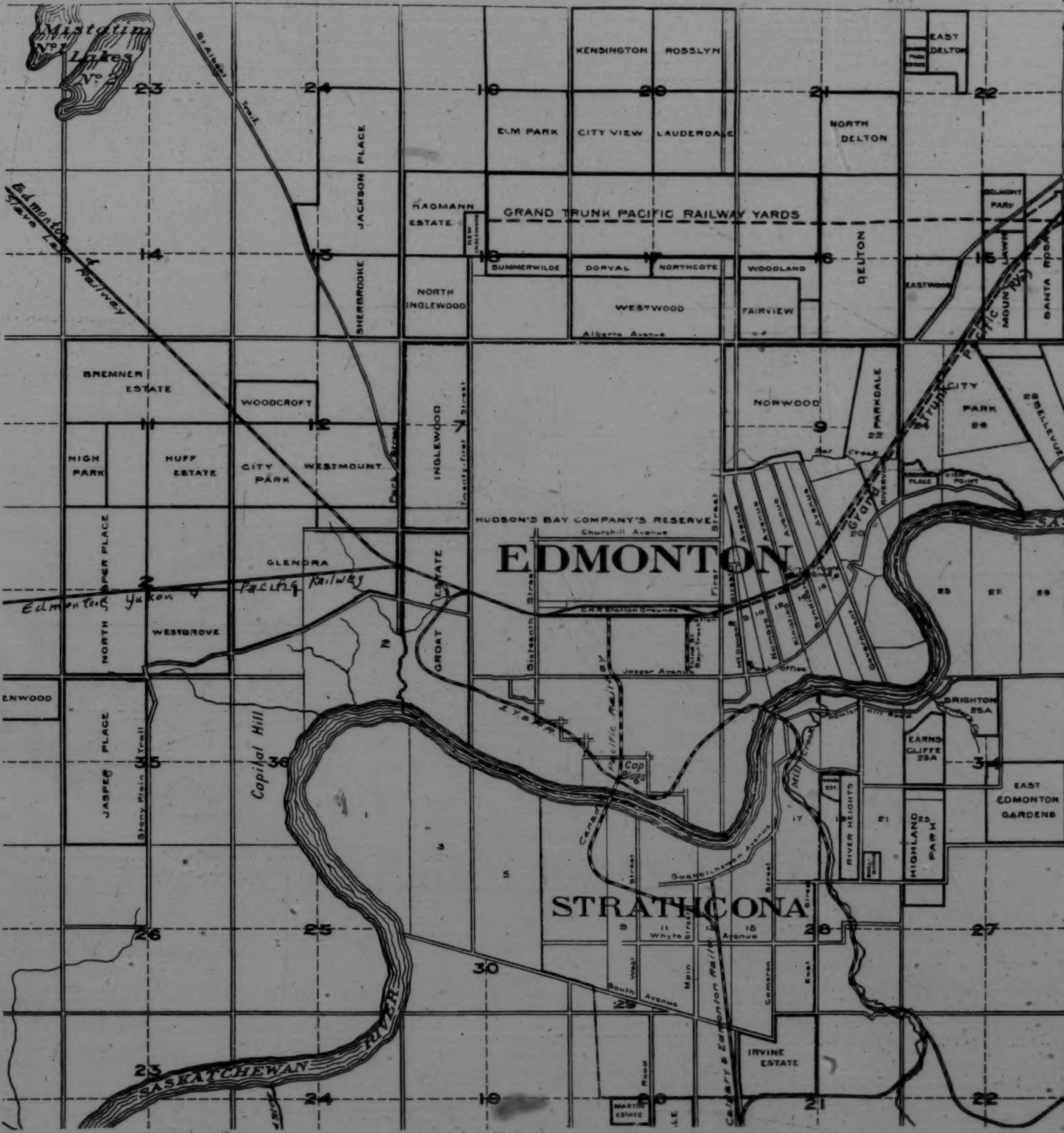
When, in October, 1902, the short spur line was connected over C.P.R. objection to the Calgary and Edmonton line at Strathcona, the atmosphere of celebration on that occasion was stimulated by more than the actual event. The local success of Mackenzie and Mann augured well for Edmonton anticipation of a major station as part of the same entrepreneurs' ambitions to build a new trans-Canadian line. Beginning in 1901, Mackenzie and Mann cooperated with the Hudson's Bay Company and the town of Edmonton to acquire station rights to a package of land near the downtown core. By the end of 1905 Edmontonians had therefore been expecting for four years the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway from Winnipeg on its way to the Pacific coast. Finally during 1905 Mackenzie and

Mann had proven their persistence and skill by driving the project over the last 546 miles into Edmonton from the east, giving Edmonton boosters their first real railway break and their second eastward connection. Another short extension of the Edmonton, Yukon and Pacific Railway linked the Canadian Northern and the Canadian Pacific systems, giving Edmonton business access not only to eastern Canada but also to communities serviced by spur lines of both transcontinental networks in the west. Warehousing, wholesaling and manufacturing industries were given a logical central Edmonton location, and the north-eastern approach of the Canadian Northern from a Fort Saskatchewan river crossing shortly determined a new focus for a meat packing industry.

To clinch Edmonton's transportation centrality, yet another railway company proposed a western transcontinental extension which was accepted by the Canadian government in 1903: the Grand Trunk Railway of central Canada would build the Grand Trunk Pacific from Winnipeg to the Pacific coast by way of northern Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia.[2] The original route contemplated, which would have avoided construction alongside the Canadian Northern, was through the Athabasca and Peace river regions further north, but the actual survey soon resulted in the choice of Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass in direct competition with the C.N.R. By 1905 the new Grand Trunk Pacific plan for the farther north was to run a branch line later from Edmonton to Kitimat through Peace River Pass.[3] Greater Edmonton (that is, including Strathcona) was assured of another major depot, though the precise approach and location of station, freight and maintenance yards would excite metropolitan ambitions on both sides of the river. While the rivals fought for the favour of terminal location, it was in 1906 that the situation gradually became clear and firm: early in February the company purchased approach property on both sides of the North Saskatchewan River at Clover Bar east of the city, making entry into Edmonton independent of passage through Strathcona; in June more property was acquired north of the Hudson's Bay reserve and just to the north of Edmonton city limits; and in November the federal government approved the G.T.P. map of its proposed route through Edmonton.[4]

Not to be left out entirely from the more northerly east-west traffic, the C.P.R. launched its own parallel building program to construct a line from Winnipeg through Saskatoon to Wetaskiwin forty miles south of Edmonton, where it would connect with the Calgary and Edmonton Railway, making Strathcona the terminus. Little more than a rumour to Strathcona residents in January, 1906, by June the project was well underway with hundreds of men working on sections eastward from Wetaskiwin, westward from Winnipeg, and in both directions from Saskatoon.[5]

To the Bulletin editor, it was remarkable what a dose of competition could do for C.P.R. energy: that railway's proposed construction program for 1906 was said to exceed actual construction for the ten preceding years. Not only would the three railway systems open up new lands for settlement and development, but their convergence at key points like Edmonton was confidently expected to replace monopoly with competitive rates, while the location there of divisional headquarters was


Mistatim Lakes No 1 No 2
St Albert Trail
Edmonton & Slave Lake Railway
KENSINGTON
ROSSLYN
EAST DELTON
ELM PARK
CITY VIEW
LAUDERDALE
NORTH DELTON
JACKSON PLACE
HAGMANN ESTATE
NEW INGLEWOOD
GRAND TRUNK PACIFIC RAILWAY YARDS
SUMMERWILDE
DORVAL
NORTHCOTE
WOODLAND
DELTON
BELMONT PARK
EASTWOOD
MOUNT LAWN
SANTA ROSA
SHERBROOKE
NORTH INGLEWOOD
WESTWOOD
FAIRVIEW
Alberta Avenue
BREMNER ESTATE
WOODCROFT
INGLEWOOD
NORWOOD
PARKDALE
CITY PARK
BELLEVUE
HIGH PARK
HUFF ESTATE
CITY PARK
WESTMOUNT
VIEW POINT
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY'S RESERVE
Churchill Avenue
EDMONTON
GLENORA
Edmonton Yukon & Pacific Railway
NORTH JASPER PLACE
WESTGROVE
GROAT ESTATE
Jasper Avenue
Grand Trunk Pacific
ENWOOD
JASPER PLACE
Stony Plain Trail
Capital Hill
Cap Bldgs
Canadian Pacific Railway
BRIGHTON 25A
EARNSCLIFFE 23A
EAST EDMONTON GARDENS
RIVER HEIGHTS
HIGHLAND PARK
Saskatchewan Avenue
STRATHCONA
Whyte Avenue
South Avenue
Calgary & Edmonton Railway
IRVINE ESTATE
MARTIN ESTATE
SASKATCHEWAN RIVER
23
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Map I: Edmonton and Environs, 1907

Source: University of Alberta Map Collection. Copy o
Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

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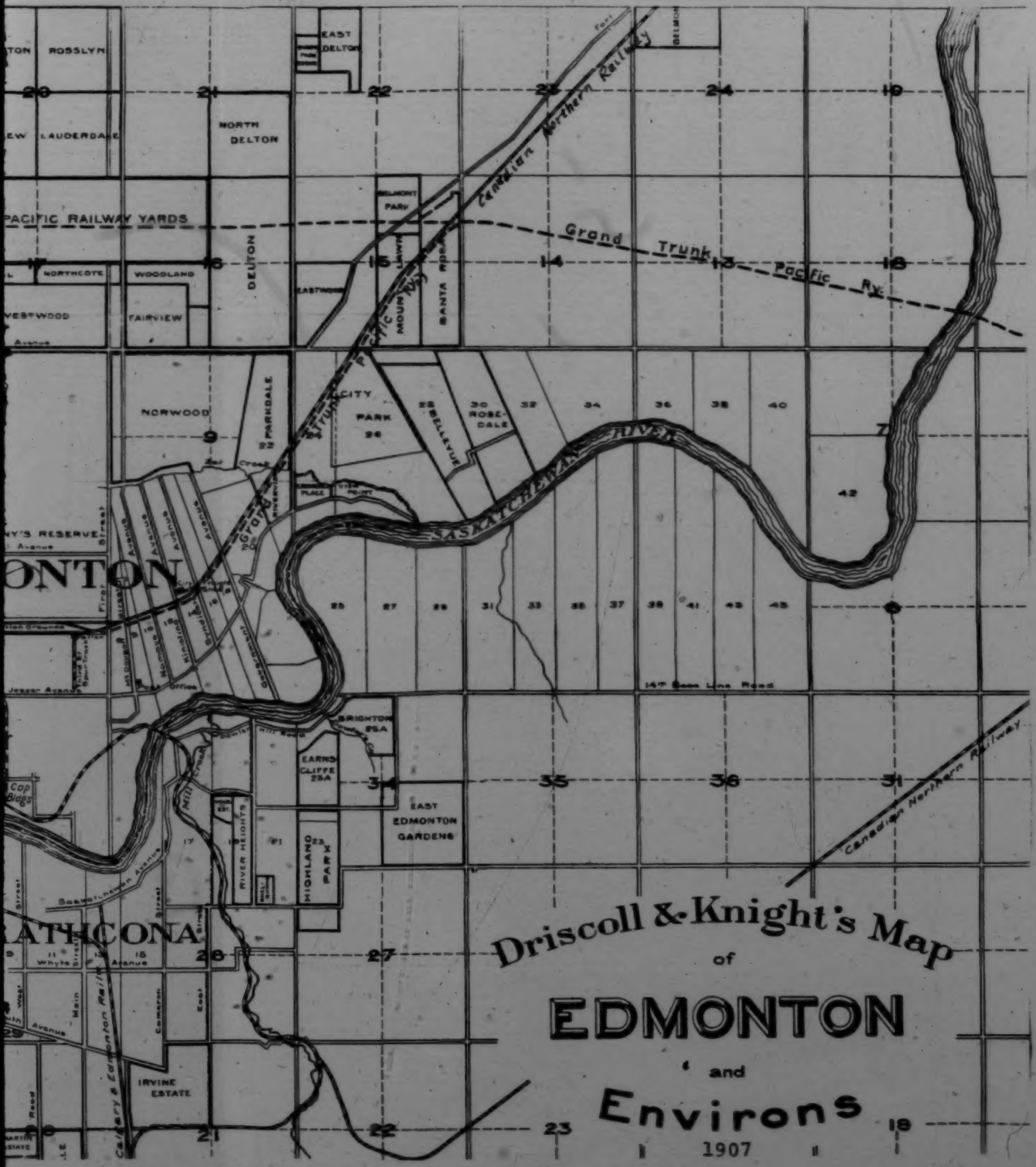
Driscoll & Knight's Map of EDMONTON and Environs
1907
ROSSLYN
EAST DELTON
NORTH DELTON
LAUDERDALE
PACIFIC RAILWAY YARDS
BELMONT PARK
NORTHCOTE
WOODLAND
DELTON
EASTWOOD
WESTWOOD
FAIRVIEW
SANTA ROSA
Canadian Northern Railway
Grand Trunk Pacific Ry.
NORWOOD
PARKDALE
CITY PARK
BELLEVUE
ROSE-DALE
SASKATCHEWAN RIVER
ONTON
BRIGHTON
EARNSCLIFFE
EAST EDMONTON GARDENS
RIVER HEIGHTS
HIGHLAND PARK
Mill Creek
RATHCONA
IRVINE ESTATE
Calgary & Edmonton Railway
Canadian Northern Railway
14th Base Line Road

p I: Edmonton and Environs, 1907

y of Alberta Map Collection. Copy of Original in
lic Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

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a valuable stimulus to population and economic growth. Calgary's frank newspaperman Bob Edwards reported near the end of March the observable results of the Canadian Northern's introduction to Edmonton: freight rates apparently dropped fifteen percent when the C.P.R. officials could no longer take "wolfish advantage of their monopoly to soak" Edmontonians. Rumours of interest on the part of two more railway companies helped push up Edmonton real estate prices. American railway tycoon J. J. Hill was said to be considering a north-south line connecting his Great Northern transcontinental line with Medicine Hat, Edmonton, the Peace River country and British Columbia through the Pine Pass. A British Pacific Railway Company was reported to be seeking a federal charter to build from Victoria over to Bute Inlet on the mainland coast through the Yellowhead Pass to Edmonton and on to Churchill at Hudson's Bay.[6]

It did not take long for real estate to boom. In the wake of the C.N.R. arrival alone the number of real estate agencies on the Edmonton side increased from about forty to sixty from November, 1905 to early February, 1906, and of course each agency would involve several partners and several salesmen and other employees. By the beginning of June, 73 agencies were licensed, but informed rumour had it that up to 150 were actively in the field, many of them informally.

> What the real estate men particularly protest against is that many businessmen doing business in other lines, professional or mercantile, make a side line of the real estate business and are virtually unassailable, as no real estate man is going to accept the odium of bringing a reputable business man into the police court and having him fined $50 for selling a city lot.

Police were aware of another practice, by which unlicensed "curbers" solicited real estate business on the street, then shared their profit with a licensed agent in return for protection from charges of operating without a license.[7] Voluminous buying and selling stimulated rapid multiplication of prices. The Grand Trunk Pacific was said to have run up against impossible prices in trying to secure right-of-way; the northern route just outside the city limits was believed to be one consequence.

Real estate stories became sources of wonderment as the peak summer season approached. Prices apparently doubled even in the half year preceding the end of January. New property was fetching remarkable prices in both the east and the west ends of the city. East Strathcona, with a view of downtown Edmonton, was the favoured south side residential area. D. J. McNamara, then of the Dominion Land Titles Office, was reported to have done exceptionally well on the north-eastern fringe of Edmonton proper. In the Norwood district, according to the newspaper account, McNamara in January purchased 103 lots at $90 apiece, but making merely a 10 percent payment. Two weeks later lots in that district were reputedly selling for $200 to $280 each. A corner lot of 50 feet frontage near the city centre at Jasper Avenue and Second Street purchased in 1881 for $25 had escalated in "value" to $2500 in a 1900 sale; to $12,000 in 1903; to $16,000 in August and $24,000 in December, 1905; and to $30,000 by January, 1906.[8]

Downtown prices soared all year. One Red Deer farmer purchased ninety feet of frontage at First and Rice Streets at the end of 1905 for $13,500 and sold it to two Edmonton entrepreneurs in November, 1906 for $31,500. The functional change was significant. Where once was a Chinese laundry and the old Journal office would now be a bank building and another office block. The visiting general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Byron Walker, observed in September that real estate prices were relatively higher in Edmonton than in towns twice or three times the size in eastern Canada. A sudden drop would not only severely injure some property investors but also curtail western credit, which he believed essential for coping with all the costs of bringing western urban civilization swiftly to the same level as that of the east. Thus the price of real estate in Edmonton, he feared, "mortgaged the future" for too long a time.[9] Nevertheless, real estate advertisements crowded the newspapers and, of course, it was not only urban property which claimed advancing prices.

In the sense of long term development, rural land price increases were the more gratifying, since they indicated enduring and rising demand for farm land from which crop production would result with lasting economic benefit. Edmonton's agricultural flavour was obvious. Newspapers regularly carried technical information of value to farmers, and editorials attended not merely to civic affairs but also to legislation like that amending the Grain Act or the Grain Inspection Act. In the off-season, a special federal "seed train" of specialists demonstrated proper care for cleanliness, health and quality of seed grain in January; and the Alberta Farmers' Association sponsored a Seed Grain Exhibition in Robertson's Hall in

February which drew crowds of farmers. In three March days the annual exhibition of the Poultry and Pet Stock Association in Strathcona drew more. At its annual meeting, after agreeing that grain "was the foundation of Edmonton's greatness," the Board of Trade decided to establish a standing "grain committee". Although he expressed hopes for the futures of the coal and natural gas industries in Edmonton and area, outgoing president A. B. Campbell emphasized the values of a transportation network and the grain growing base for Edmonton's booming economy. Great satisfaction was derived in Edmonton from statistics of massive crop acreage increases and from prognostications of a bumper grain crop which would require the C.N.R. to add hundreds of new box cars and dozens of new engines.[10]

Prosperity seemed guaranteed by the broadening stream of immigration. In mid-March the sight of 100 to 200 settlers pouring in per day seemed astounding; a week later 300 to 500 a day became the new norm. More settlers had arrived in Edmonton by the end of March, 1906 than had come to the end of May the previous year, and that had been a record itself. The immigration halls had long since been overtaxed; the exhibition hall and hotels accommodated all possible until they were organized to go to settlement sites. In mid-November, 500 still arrived each week. Homestead entries also set records and private sales were in this favourable situation strenuously promoted by such major landholders as the C.P.R. through contracts with land companies. There was absolutely no doubt of the immigrants' initial or ultimate value: it was economic. Statistics about numbers arriving were usually accompanied in newspaper reports by indications of ability to buy horses, wagons, implements and provisions for the further trip to settlement locations. A late fall story combined satisfaction at the spending by newcomers with satisfaction at the spending by an estimated 400 agrarian shoppers visiting from outlying areas each week.[11]

The favourite gauge of urban growth in a city swept along by real estate promotion was the rate of construction on newly acquired lots. As soon as mild weather set in in March, an astonishing change was immediately obvious. Excitement was generated by the observation that the value of building permits in the first ten days of March amounted to four times the value of those for all of March, 1905. Totals at the end of March confirmed a ten-fold increase; the proportions of the comparison diminished only slowly throughout the summer. Early in April some 300 to 400 carpenters were reported to be steadily at work. At the end of the year nearly $1.9 million worth of building permits had been issued, still two and one-half times the 1905 total notwithstanding that the boom had begun in the latter part of 1905. Three-quarters of them had gone for residential construction. The pressure on housing accommodation had been notable already during the previous year, and urban immigration obviously grew even more rapidly in 1906. Besides simple expansion of housing facilities, another cause of the increased value of building permits was evidently the sudden prosperity enjoyed particularly by numerous businessmen. "Handsome residences" began in this period to display upper income good fortune, for the time being mainly in the west end of the city south of Jasper Avenue. Large scale westward expansion was advertised in the Glenora subdivision, part of old River Lot 2, the Groat Estate, for sale in 500 foot by 100 foot lots. On the other hand, the east end also boomed with house construction, creating the demand which raised lumber prices. Most were for "workmen and businessmen" in the city's basic industries, but speculators anticipated grander developments even further east. There the prospects of "high and dry" choice land with a magnificent broad curve of river valley view were bolstered by the Council decision to purchase park land in the vicinity. Across the river hundreds of new buildings were erected in the summer of 1906 in an unprecedented construction boom apparently heavily underwritten by north siders' investment.[12]

Sawmills of the city anticipated the season's business with a very heavy log drive in the spring. The long established mills of Fraser and Walters looked forward to a gratifying boom in their enterprises; that of W. H. Clark awaited the new logs for the initial purpose of constructing a new planing mill and lumber yard on ten acres of south side river flats. By mid-June lumber prices were fluctuating between 10 and 25 percent above those of 1905. Late in August, after a fourth jump since the beginning of the year, lumber prices were up in some cases 50 percent over January rates, and early in October they jumped again. John Walters, feverishly busy all the summer season with lumber sales, boat building, and a new and successful coal mine, made plans in the fall to erect a new mill on the north side flats. It seemed impossible to exceed demand with supply.[13]

There were other measures of economic growth. One was financial. In January, in a move thought to have close connection with the arrival of the Canadian Northern Railway for which it acted as financial agent, the Canadian Bank of Commerce opened a new branch in Strathcona. In February news broke of three banks adding branches to the half dozen already chartered in Edmonton: the Northern Bank, the Bank of Hamilton and Molson's Bank.[14] The most spectacular mercantile expansion appeared to be that launched by Revillon Freres. In the nineteenth century this Paris based company had made its fur trading presence felt as the chief competitor to the Hudson's Bay Company in northern Quebec and in northern Saskatchewan and Alberta as well as in their Northwest Territories hinterland, operating particularly well in Metis areas. The establishment placed in Edmonton by Revillon Freres in 1899 was expanded into the company's main warehouse in 1905, where it constituted a formidable competitor in furs and general merchandise for not only the Hudson's Bay Company but also the locally dominant firm of McDougall and Secord. In April, 1906 "Revillon Brothers" became the first merchandisers to take advantage of the Canadian Northern facilities in a big way, making use of a twenty-four car "special consignment" train to import general merchandise for its warehouse and city department stores. The train had made its journey decorated with Revillon and Edmonton banners. In July the company showed its confidence in Edmonton's expansion by announcing $30,000 - $40,000 extensions to its retail stores, which were then sold to another company, Acme, at year's end.[15]

Burgeoning population and construction gave an added impetus to fuel extraction industries in the city. Coal mines had been plentiful in Edmonton and vicinity since the 1890s; in fact they may have been too plentiful to be profitable for operators in the 1890s when some 9 mines and 35 miners had supplied a population of about 2,000. After 1900, however, the demand escalated significantly, especially in coal-scarce regions to the east, supporting twenty-three mines in 1906 and encouraging such new ventures as that of two English coal miners who in February began constructing the necessary shafts for a mine in the Parkdale fringe of the city just east of Rat Creek. An extra burst of demand caused by abnormally cold weather in the winter of 1906-7 rewarded the numerous entrepreneurs. Eleven local producers - with John Walters at the head of the production list - were kept feverishly busy expanding capacity and raising prices. A new coalfield in the Beaver Hills region nearby attracted investment from the local real estate men Crafts, Lee and Gallinger, and J. R. Black. Bigger developments were expected.[16] A notable new experiment in the fuel industry was undertaken by prominent well-established Edmonton and Strathcona businessmen in 1906 with some hint of success. The North-West Gas and Oil Company which struck gas on the city's east side early in 1906 had as its president and vice-president well-known ex-Mayors Dr. H. C. Wilson and J. A. McDougall, and as its directors equally prominent civic luminaries N. D. Beck, Premier A. C. Rutherford and K. A. McLeod. While no productive business emerged immediately from these explorations, investment in the venture indicated the capital available for innovative projects.[17]

Another new Alberta "industry" got its official start in Edmonton in 1906: the provincial government. Established in 1905, the province of Alberta was during 1906 fitted with the expected government agencies - for education, a judiciary, public works, health and welfare, agriculture - all with departmental headquarters in Edmonton. The first Alberta legislature sat in Edmonton in 1906 and the interim arrangement for Edmonton as the seat of government was legislatively confirmed in the first session. Marked by a string of inconsequential arguments indicating only the contending city to which each debater lived closest, the discussion gave way to the more important vote which proved that more elected representatives in the governing Liberal party lived close to Edmonton than to Calgary.[18] One astute analyst points out that the choice of Edmonton as capital not only gave Liberals a stranglehold on the political loyalty of Edmonton and northern Alberta, it also tended in turn to make the government over the years especially sensitive to the needs of Edmonton and the north. Hence, as provincial railroad projects in the next few years would show, Edmonton's new position as capital had not only an immediate importance as a stimulus to urban growth, but also a long range significance for regional development for which Edmonton would be the chief urban centre. In mid-October the site of the old Hudson's Bay Company fort was selected by the government on the basis of its scenic and historic prominence to be the location of the anticipated parliamentary buildings.[19]

That battle won, the backers of Edmonton's future moved immediately into action to secure the location of yet another industry, this time in the realms of education and culture, a public university. Calgarians might expect the lesser consolation of a university project to offset loss of the capital but, not only was the Edmonton area better represented in the legislature's governing party, it was also the home of the Premier. The Hon. A. C. Rutherford wanted the university for Strathcona. Although public debate on the site was postponed, a university bill passed over warnings of excessive cost. Rutherford went right to work and negotiated for the purchase of south side River Lot 5 before January, 1907. Thus, long before the time chosen later in 1907 to announce the site of the proposed University of Alberta, Premier Rutherford had in fact acted to give greater Edmonton another economic as well as cultural advantage.[20]

Even though Edmonton's economy did not depend only on commerce, real estate speculation, construction, fuel and government bureaucracy in 1906, great diversification was not a trademark of booming Edmonton. Toward the end of the year a new packing plant and the Edmonton Brewing Company announced new factory construction,[21] but it was not yet a large city and had, as we shall see, still to come to grips with the issue of financially encouraging a range of industries to locate in Edmonton. For the time being, the coincidence of the simultaneous appearance of railways, the government centre, and massive agricultural immigration appeared quite enough to assure Edmonton's economic future. For those who did not make decisions leading to new enterprise, but worked for wages, Edmonton's opportunities were equally ample. There was no unemployment in the city in 1906.[22] Canadian eyes turned to western cities like Edmonton. Among the numerous central Canadian newspaper accounts of the new Edmonton and new western opportunity, one report to the Toronto Star in the spring of 1906 captured the enthusiasm of Edmonton businessmen. After outlining the various transformations which were responsible for the prevailing air of optimism, the reporter went on:

> The other morning when I boarded the train at Calgary to come here [Edmonton] I began to observe evidences of Edmonton's prosperity. The whole talk [in] the smoker was Edmonton. A party of ladies and gentlemen, residents of Edmonton, with whom I had journeyed from Vancouver, now began to talk of Edmonton. The thought of getting home and into the thick of Edmonton business again filled their minds with Edmonton. One man told me confidentially that another occupant of the same car was worth ten to fifteen millions, all of which he had made in Edmonton, and half of it in the last year. The millionaire told me the other man had made $300,000 during the last six months, and while he was away on this holiday trip his son had cleared up $60,000. Another was pointed out whom [sic] I was informed had struck Edmonton nine years ago with sixteen dollars and was now worth $600,000. And so on. How much of these large fortunes had been realized in speculation and are [sic] still represented in real estate at present prices I did not inquire.[23]

Footnotes

1. This and the three following paragraphs are drawn from T. D. Regehr, The Canadian Northern Railway...1895-1919 (Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1976), 69-71, 164-9, 245; R. A. Christenson, "The Calgary and Edmonton Railway and the Edmonton Bulletin" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 152-6, 160-2, 218-223, 236-249; H. K.-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and Its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 20-3; Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 23, 1906.

2. Regehr, The Canadian Northern, 107-123.

3. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1971), 202-3; E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892 to 1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1969), 17.

4. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), February 2, June 29, 30, 1906; Minutes, Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Company Directors' Meeting, February 7, 1907: Public Archives of Canada (PAC) C.N.R. Papers, RG 30, vol. 1104, GTP Minute Book #2.

5. EJ, January 2, and June 19, 1906; EB, February 6, 7, June 30, 1906.

6. EB, February 6, 13, March 26, 29, June 30, 1906.

7. EB, February 9 and June 15, 1906.

8. EJ, January 18, 27, 30, June 19, July 30, 1906; EB, January 30, February 5, 1906.

9. EB, September 22 and November 16, 1906.

10. EB, January 20, 23, February 12-14, 21, 28, March 12, 13, June 28, July 7, August 6, 13, 1906.

11. EB, January 29, February 3, March 24, 27, 31, April 2, 1906; EJ, November 23, 1906.

12. EB, December 29, 1905, March 12, April 2, 23, May 1, September 11, 12, November 5, 1906; EJ, October 2, 1906; The Labour Gazette (Ottawa, Department of Labour), vol. 7, no. 7 (January, 1907), 746.

13. EB, April 16, 27, June 18, September 1, October 2, 1906.

14. EJ, January 16, 1906; EB, February 16, 17, March 20, 1906.

15. Zaslow, The Opening, 239-240; EB, April 23, July 27, November 27, 1906.

16. R. G. Ironside and S. A. Hamilton, "Historical Geography of Coal Mining in the Edmonton District," Alberta Historical Review, vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer, 1972), 10-11; EB, February 23, November 14, 17, December 26, 1906; Labour Gazette, vol. 7, no. 6 (December, 1906), 632 and no. 7 (January, 1907), 747.

17. EJ, January 15, 1906.

18. L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 34-41.

19. Zaslow, The Opening, 210-211; EB, October 12, 1906.

20. Thomas, The Liberal Party, 39-40, 50; John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 119-120.

21. Labour Gazette, vol. 7, no. 6 (December, 1906), 631.

22. See monthly reports on Edmonton, Labour Gazette, vol. 6 and 7 for 1906.

23. Article by J. P. McConnell in Toronto Star, March 17, 1906, reprinted in EB, March 31, 1906.

Chapter 10: Formal Municipal Organization.

A booming economy and multiplication of the urban population exerted unique pressures for collective approaches to a host of new problems. The city's two basic solutions were not exactly innovations, but were borrowed from available examples for their aptness to the condition of rapid growth: public ownership of utilities and a professional executive branch of civic government. Strathcona's response to the situation was dependent upon the nature of Edmonton's; it will be considered separately later. For Edmonton citizens, the task of coping with common requirements was in 1906 understood to comprehend the provision of the following services: modern streets and sidewalks, electricity, telephones, water and sewerage, a street railway, parks, education and, reluctantly, some supervision of public health. On the other hand, obvious growth encouraged optimistic visions of proliferating future good fortune. Civic administration was managed, therefore, not only to cope with an increasing magnitude in collective problems of utility and welfare services after they arose, but also to prepare for the continuing boom to come.

Moreover, the expectation of prevailing growth suggested an apparently logical way to finance urban utility advances: property taxation. Actually there were further implications to property assessment beyond simple taxation. High assessments and low taxation rates were believed to accomplish good civic advertising to attract new business and to boost the limits of civic borrowing. Net Edmonton assessment after exemptions was in 1906 set at more than $17,000,000 which, in the conventional wisdom, permitted borrowing power to twenty percent or $3,400,000. That the city in the fall of 1906 had a debenture liability of just over $1,000,000, half of it in sinking funds, could therefore be interpreted as a "splendid condition" against the possible limits of borrowing power.[1]

Some rather imposing costs could in this atmosphere pass as routine, like a year end commitment to nearly $300,000 worth of future paving. City Council's major puzzle was to choose between the rival "bitulithic" and "carbolinium block" methods of paving.[2] The civic response to the financial requirements of Edmonton's electric light and power system is instructive. After the privately owned Edmonton Electric Light and Power Company balked at the cost of improvement and expansion in 1902 without either public financial assistance or the long term security of a ten year contract, the risk had been distributed among the citizens through the device of public ownership and management. By 1906, therefore, the public utility could display fine operating profits as long as the capital costs of ceaseless construction and equipment purchase were kept in a widely separated accounting column.[3] It was possible on the one hand to cut power rates in the middle of the year while concurrently on the other hand adding to the city's debt by increasing the number of arc street lights. The desire to guarantee and expand the source of electricity supply threatened further to multiply the debt. One proposal by Mayor May, to purchase forty-one acres of known coal land in the flats near the power plant, would have cost $60,000 initially and an indeterminate sum to get a mine into operable condition. That was modest in comparison with an alternative plan to build a hydro-electric power development on the North Saskatchewan river fifty miles west of the city. When the engineer who was consulted reported that kind of project to be feasible but expensive, requiring a capital outlay of $1 million and annual operating costs of $140,000, it is difficult to say which sum caused the more consternation. Capital debt was one thing; operating expense which would be covered by high power prices was probably the key factor in scuttling the proposal.[4]

The telephone system was another public utility which the municipality had taken over from private operators after their original ten year charter was concluded in 1903. To the normal demand for expansion of this particular service was joined the pressure of bewildering technological change; Edmonton Council spent much of the year 1906 attempting to understand the validity of conflicting claims by a variety of telephone producers to the most effective systems. All were considered superior to the dual network in place in Edmonton and Strathcona: "the oldest kind of old fashioned ground wire system" going back to 1893, combined with later additions of metallic circuitry. Besides technology, there remained the question of cost. Of the modern alternatives, a Canadian automatic company made the lowest bid, but here Commissioner G. J. Kinnaird introduced a third alternative at least as cheap: to rebuild antiquated parts and expand the old system, thus avoiding the risk of a relatively untried experiment with automatic technology. In the end Council ignored the advice of its senior civil servants and chose the Canadian automatic system on the basis of cost and modernity, trusting to a contract guarantee to ensure seven good workable years to overcome the risk factor. Though the $65,000 required formed half the total amount Council sought permission from the ratepayers to raise in August for all its current projects, it caused no controversy and passed with a landslide majority amidst a poor voters' turnout.[5]

Nor was there any fuss in July about undertaking the immense financial and managerial burden of a $300,000 expenditure on "the largest public work ever projected in Edmonton, or [for] that matter by any municipality between Winnipeg and the Pacific coast:" major extensions of water and sewerage pipelines. The city had already incurred considerable debt since 1901 when open gutters and water supply by private wells and horse drawn distribution to street-side containers were first superseded by networks of pipe. The decision to make it a public rather than a private utility service was made at that time. Once begun this project never ended in expansive times. Not only did the web have to be enlarged, but mains had to be replaced by much larger concrete pipe to increase capacity to be filled by a new three million gallon electrically driven turbine pump. Hence what was first debated as a $113,000 project in February, 1906 rapidly tripled by the time decision was reached late in June. In August construction was underway on five and one-half miles of water pipe extension to cost about $15,000. But initiation of this project did not end Council's cost considerations. At the end of November the City Engineer brought a report to Council showing necessity for immediate expansion of both electric and water systems, already overtaxed and unprepared for a doubling in population expected in two years. It raised questions not merely of additional capacity for the pumping plant but also of future contamination of water flowing into the pump area from what would soon be a new residential area upstream. Relocation or purification would be expensive. And then, with respect to sewer construction, for which a route location had been debated since March, contract negotiations were underway in mid-November, and agreements reached by mid-December with a private company to build the main and lateral sewerage lines. During the earlier discussions in Council, Alderman Boyle pressed for an end to "temporizing" with construction that would be overloaded immediately, and Alderman Mays was persuaded that a sewer system meant to last for 50 to 100 years should be "the best, not the cheapest." Then too, considerations of public health, as we shall see, made continuous expenditure on this service all the easier to justify.[6]

It would perhaps be difficult to argue against the value of proper water distribution and sewerage disposal to sanitation and the reduction of disease. The early history of plans for a street railway, on the other hand, bespoke pure civic and commercial ambition. Though from 1894 to 1905 an Edmonton street railway proved too grand a project for successful private accomplishment, so determined was the Edmonton Council to have the system that private failure was interpreted not as reason to abandon the project but as justification for making it a public one. Most of 1906 was consumed by a consulting engineer's study of the likely cost of twelve blocks of street railway along Jasper Avenue (the main street). His report in October predicted installation of track and purchase of equipment would require over $100,000. The visiting general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce thought a current typhoid epidemic emphasized more legitimate fields for municipal expenditure, but ratepayers remained unaffected and in December overwhelmingly approved purchase of street rails and trolley wire for some six miles of street railway. It was the first step to a small system which became operational in 1908.[7]

It was probably no accident either in the halcyon expansion years after city incorporation that the Council was frequently presented with offers of new property for park land. Quite apart from any profit the generous donors might earn or deny themselves in the direct sale, there was no doubt that firm establishment of future park land in any area could not help but improve real estate prices in the vicinity. When on one occasion some private citizens took the initiative to secure land for parkland until the city had time to act officially, this was judged a gesture of Edmonton's "public spirited citizens" of the same variety, significantly, as those responsible for securing the city's first bridge and the C.N.R. depot. On a larger scale, a Board of Trade interested in attracting new business by presenting a favourable picture of residential amenities did not hesitate in November, 1905 to put pressure on City Council to extend its park land. One of the Board's suggestions was that Council assist the financially troubled

Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association by purchasing the land on which it paid rent to Messrs. McDougall and Secord. In June burgesses approved a $46,000 expenditure to obtain for parks of 100 acres west of Groat Estate and of 250 acres in two eastern river lot packages. Before the end of the year they approved a further $60,000 outlay to purchase the large Exhibition Association grounds, an acquisition which was completed in the following year.[8]

In October the Board of Trade studied and adopted a resolution to press City Council for a "city beautification" plan embodying a 200 foot wide boulevard along the river bank and around the city, preservation of the entire river bank escarpment as well as Rat Creek and Groat Creek ravines for park, and (with provincial government help) development of a fifteen mile driveway up and down stream from Edmonton. According to Board representative and former Mayor William Short, this was all worthwhile because several American cities were spending "large sums" on such plans. A month later, in mid-November, Council did indeed decide to employ the landscape architect, Frederick G. Todd, to prepare "a comprehensive beautification scheme" for the city. Todd was in Edmonton to design the provincial parliamentary grounds; for $500 he would take the city's task as well. The general directions to Todd were similar to the recommendations of the Board of Trade.[9] Though Todd's plan was not implemented, there was clearly no end to Board of Trade developmental ambition.

The conclusion cannot easily be avoided that Edmontonians as a whole were being loaded with a current and future debt burden with startling rapidity and long term consequences. A negative sort of collective urban interest was being imposed on Edmonton's people. The point has been made often enough that, in Edmonton as elsewhere before World War I, shared urban utilities would not only overcome some of the difficulties of residential density, but would also satisfy businessmen and speculators in urban and rural property who had opportunities to extract private profit from urban expansion.[10] As long as a bright future beckoned, it was apparently easy to believe it would handle the mounting debt as well. One of the reasons this cynical view is so easy to hold is the hesitancy with which unprofitable health and social welfare services were approached.

Only in 1906 did the requirements of public health and fire prevention finally move Council to accept city commissioners' recommendations that "horses and a scavenging outfit be purchased and maintained as a street cleaning department," and that a sanitary inspector be appointed with multiple extra duties as caretaker and nurse of the isolation hospital and quarantine officer. The spectre to be avoided was disease. The epidemic disease of the year was typhoid fever, though others - notably smallpox, malaria and diphtheria - were endemic on both sides of the river. When typhoid fever struck in September, Edmonton was not alone in Canada in fighting the disease. Dr. Braithwaite, the veteran medical health officer retained on a part time basis by the city, deplored newspaper sensationalism which tended to mark Edmonton as a "pestilential hole" while in fact, he believed, more than half the ninety cases had been engendered outside the city. Before long Braithwaite's salary was raised on the basis of heavy work; indeed the possibility of making his position full time received consideration. The city's doctors pressed the city to enforce its by-law requiring the connection of residences to the city's water and sewer systems, and Council was embarrassed to discover some city-owned houses not only with typhoid cases but also with no sewer and water connections.[11] If the epidemic encouraged the city's water and sewer projects, it also no doubt served to quieten the uproar which had attended plans dating back to January to establish a new isolation hospital.

From the point of view of private charity, this was exactly the type of social service which should be public. It was not only that civic officials had traditionally coped with epidemics, but it was also a service which was at once essential and fraught with built-in opportunities for community fracture. The proposal for a proper isolation hospital in Edmonton was first discussed by Edmonton Council in January. Once a civic-run institution was agreed upon, the next consideration was a site. No sooner had one been selected than an east end property owner objected that he did not want a "pest house" so near the lots he owned. A yard-long east end petition which followed quickly persuaded a majority of Council to send the matter back to committee for further study in May. Only the typhoid scare prompted action. During June, even as Council was studying building plans, an investigation into alleged negligence in the death of a boy in the existing temporary facility emphasized the necessity for efficient treatment of isolation cases sufficiently to quell the controversy over location. In August a by-law to raise money for the isolation hospital passed with an overwhelming majority in an "abnormally small vote."[12]

The transition of hospital administration from private and voluntary to public support and care in other than emergency conditions was not nearly complete by 1906. In Edmonton the voluntary Women's Aid Society of the public hospital was a firmly entrenched institution with more than 130 members and the desire to be bigger. The Society was still the major fund raiser for the hospital's operations, even if its members did worry about the prospects for voluntarily clearing the hospital of operational debt. At the end of the year, however, plans were underway for the city to build a new public hospital. Rapid expansion of health services threatened to over-reach the capacity of the Women's Aid Society to raise enough health care funds privately. By way of contrast, in 1906 Strathcona was just equipping its first tiny temporary hospital in a six bedroom house, and a Strathcona Ladies' Hospital Aid Society was just being formed by wives of some of Strathcona's prominent citizens. And in terms of social welfare, neither municipality had progressed further than the relief committee method of handling the most extreme financial need.[13] But the plans for a new public hospital and an isolation hospital indicated how health emergencies could push even reluctant leaders into costly health and welfare services.

Interestingly enough, education was a far better accepted responsibility. The four school boards (public and separate) of the two municipalities had but one over-riding concern in 1906: to provide enough school space for the multiplying pupil enrollment. Their deliberations were uniformly about building programs. A new public school was constructed in the north-west district of Norwood. Both the Edmonton and Strathcona separate school boards approved replacement of inadequate existing facilities with larger brick structures. Otherwise, even salary adjustments provoked no great controversy; trustees themselves observed that teachers dissatisfied with the inadequate remuneration solved their problem by leaving the profession. Thus, the manifold opportunity in boom time Edmonton worked its own pressure on the school boards to raise teachers' salaries.[14]

The same unusual opportunity reduced aldermen's anxiety to induce new businesses to locate in the city by offering financial advantages of lower taxes and utility rates or free land. To civic leaders starved for direct transcontinental connections since the expectant days of 1881 there was no hesitancy about bonusing railway companies, but confusion related to the encouragement of other industry once the railways were secured. Were not railway connections and booming agricultural immigration inducements enough for aggressive businessmen to choose Edmonton for their enterprises? If that was generally true, what were the principles which should determine special cases deserving civic bonuses?

With the Canadian Northern firmly in operation, Edmonton Council's attention focussed on the Grand Trunk Pacific. Ever since city officials had early in 1903 become aware of

G.T.P. prospects for a northern transcontinental line, they had unceasingly sought options on property potentially useful for right of way and station sites. By February, 1905, before Grand Trunk Pacific surveys in the area were completed, Edmonton Council had already submitted to its burgesses a by-law on the subject. Should G.T.P. railway terminals be established within Edmonton, the by-law provided for a bonus of $100,000 together with municipal tax exemption until the beginning of 1910 and thereafter taxation assessment on the fixed value of actual land purchase until the end of 1928. As soon as the necessary federal order-in-council approved the proposed G.T.P. route into and through Edmonton in November, 1906, that offer went into effect, but in the meantime further Council initiative was required since C.N.R. construction over much of the same approach along which the city held options had raised land values astronomically. Through the first half of 1906 city officials arranged purchases to prepare a route to a terminal site just north of city limits and three miles north of Jasper Avenue. Eventually the G.T.P. arranged to share passenger station facilities with the C.N.R. at the latter's station site close to the town core.[15]

The contrasting reluctance of aldermen to grant financial incentives to other entrepreneurs was demonstrated in the debate about a particular case. In February an application came through William Short's law firm for an iron foundry enterprise to build a $30,000 establishment immediately in exchange for a particular free site and exemption from taxation for ten years. While there apparently was a demand for that service, councillors generally objected to the suggestion. In part the reservations expressed the pragmatic view that so small an enterprise asked too much concession, but several argued against it on principle: that outsiders would be favoured unfairly over small businessmen already in the city; that tax exemptions would cut into the city's revenue. Furthermore, argued Mayor Charles May, a systematic policy should be created to apply universally to applications as they appeared. The Board of Trade picked up the latter idea and forwarded resolutions proposing a policy of land lease or sale at a low price to intending businessmen and a "standing offer of light, power and water to new manufactures or enterprises to induce them to locate here, providing that a stipulated number of employees be engaged, that white labor be employed," and that similar businesses already operating in Edmonton receive the same benefits. Council's lack of urgent concern permitted the specific question of the iron foundry to be postponed indefinitely pending study and decision about a general bonusing policy. During the year bonus inquiries came from a paving company, an ironwork and wire manufacturing company, a meat packing plant and the Edmonton Brewing Company. The policy worked out by Council in November reflected the lack of concern fostered by prosperity: simply to offer water, power and light at cost. By year end election time, debate of broad principles was still underway.[16]

Edmonton's Council clearly preferred the much more limited cost of civic advertising and grants to the Board of Trade to promote Edmonton opportunities. Paid advertisements in newspapers across North America. urged outsiders to establish grist mills, woollens mills, machine shops, tanneries and other industries which could process local raw materials or provide new services to the region. Edmonton's "souvenir" pamphlet distributed during and after the September, 1905, inaugural ceremony for the province made a specific connection between all the utility extension and civic boosterism. The "foundations of future material greatness" were understood to be enhanced by municipal ownership and extension of utility services; non-material attributes of educational and religious facilities were similarly used to increase the appeal for further business development.[17] Comparable arguments were employed in February, 1906 during a joint Board of Trade - Council expedition eastward to Canadian and American points both to study telephone systems and to publicize the attractions of Edmonton. In fact Council depended on the Board of Trade to conduct most of the promotion of Edmonton opportunities and, paradoxically, paid the Board to do so in proportion to the extent of its recent success. In March, 1906 the Board came to Council with a program for printing and circulating a seventy page pamphlet, for advertising in newspapers, and for paying agents to lure immigrants at eastern fall fairs. Their request for $5,000 was double the civic grant of the previous year, yet the effectiveness of the grant's use in 1905 apparently warranted double the money in 1906.[18]

In truth the attack of the Board of Trade showed new sophistication and determination in 1906, no doubt influenced by the enthusiasm generated by the new prospects. A curious unity of business purpose is suggested by the Board's unanimous selection of A. T. Cushing, the losing mayoralty candidate at the end of 1905, as President at its February, 1906 meeting. It was clear from reports and discussion that the Board's increased activity in 1905 was a result of increased outside interest - letters of inquiry poured in - rather than strenuous effort to engender it. Instead of depending solely on a paid secretary to handle all its day-to-day business, the Board decided to create four committees and six sub-sections, each devoted to promotion of a particular kind of industry. Hence Vice-president John A. McDougall attended to the important affairs of the "Committee for the Promotion of New Industries and Commercial Enterprises"; out-going President A. B. Campbell chaired its manufacturers' sub-section; J. H. Gariepy and K. W. McKenzie the wholesalers' and retailers' sub-sections. Others handled real estate and insurance, professionals and publicity; third Vice-president William Short chaired a civic interests committee.[19]

Although Edmonton City Council's subsidy to its promotional Board of Trade was limited, it was still proportionally far more than the Strathcona Town Council paid its Board for similar services. The March request of the seventy member Strathcona Board for $1,500 from Strathcona Town Council got lost in committee for months before being pared down to $600 in October. Little wonder their actual activity featured little more than arranging for agricultural and mineral displays at Canadian fairs and hosting visiting Canadian Manufacturers Association delegates. This was a good indication of the limits on Strathcona boosterism which made all the more believable Edmonton Mayor May's boast that Edmonton and Strathcona would soon form a single more imposing metropolis.[20]

Strathcona leaders were experiencing considerable difficulty by 1906 in maintaining the claim that Strathcona would surpass Edmonton as the centre of the new metropolis. Its governing structure remained as simple as the ordinance of incorporation had permitted on its passage in April, 1899: a six member Council and a handful of municipal employees and officials provided a limited number of services. There were but three policemen, and the fire brigade continued to be voluntary.[21] What was happening to Strathcona was illustrated in part by what had happened to the Strathcona Agricultural Society. In 1904 it had been reconstituted the Strathcona Industrial Exhibition Society, its capital stock and expenses shared by some fifty Strathcona businessmen and professionals. Yet the name belied its activities, which were limited to very quiet planning for spring Arbor Day "games and sports" and a modest fall fair.[22]

Meanwhile, the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association had since 1901 developed the traditional July 1 celebrations into an exhibition filling out four days, eclipsing the Strathcona event which had at one time been the sole fair for both communities. When financial difficulties accompanied the Edmonton Exhibition's expansion, the city came repeatedly to the rescue with grants. In 1906, civic grants covered not only the grounds lease, but also $5,000 worth of losses. In exchange, Edmonton Council was willing to take responsibility for selecting a committee to monitor exhibition expenses. Before the year was out, ratepayers had agreed to spend $60,000 to purchase the Exhibition grounds: henceforth exhibitions would take place on city territory. The advantages to Edmonton were evidently perceived to be desirable enough in the broader sense for citizens to overlook and absorb the immediate deficits. An Edmonton Bulletin editorial isolated the direct benefits: the business of thousands of visitors; the exhibition not only of the produce, but therefore also of the prospects of the district; the maintenance of a reputation for continuing civic vitality. An indirect benefit not normally mentioned by civic boosters was the focus of collective celebration on Edmonton, not only of the people who attended (brought by special trains from as far away as 100 miles) but of the organizations which participated. Banks closed early. Even Strathcona businesses closed for one day to permit increased attendance. Baseball teams, Edmonton and Strathcona squadrons of the Canadian Mounted Rifles and the Boys' Brigade, church women operating dining halls to support such social welfare agencies as the Women's Hospital Aid: all were for several days organized explicitly within the total urban framework.[23]

Not only had Strathcona given up its primacy in this field, but its residents obviously participated enthusiastically in Edmonton's replacement. For that was the essential difference in the collective Strathcona response to urban service requirements: smaller Strathcona had an alternative not open to Edmonton, simply to attach itself in whole or in part to the larger urban neighbour, to join another community rather than create a separate one. That alternative seems to have gained respectability during 1905 and 1906 when both the C.N.R. and G.T.P. chose to locate terminals in Edmonton rather than in Strathcona.

The C.N.R. crossed the North Saskatchewan River several miles northeast of Strathcona, its planners no doubt influenced by their earlier confrontations with Strathcona entrepreneurs on the one hand and by Fort Saskatchewan bonus inducements on the other. Here should have been a clear warning that Strathcona's supposed advantage as the best side for a river crossing was more appropriate to a north-south line like the C.P.R. Calgary and Edmonton line than to an east-west line with technical reasons to avoid grade problems in the Beaver Hills east of Strathcona. Despite consultations by Strathcona Council and Board of Trade representatives with railway officials in the east as early as the fall of 1904, no inducements were offered to the C.N.R., nor did leading Strathconans evidently worry much about the Grand Trunk Pacific route until 1906. Then it was too late, even though petulant complaints began in 1905.[24]

Set against the background of Edmonton's far lustier approach to the problem, complaints and admonitions by way of the federal government would have required some overwhelming sanction in order to prevail against Edmonton largesse. Instead, after route plans submitted by the G.T.P. to the Dominion government Department of Railways and Canals showed a river crossing at Clover Bar, north-east of Strathcona once again although not as far away as Fort Saskatchewan, the Strathcona

Council and Board of Trade wasted valuable months merely criticizing the legitimacy of G.T.P. and federal government survey information. Pressure on Prime Minister Laurier from the Strathcona Board of Trade, from the Liberal Member of Parliament for Strathcona, Peter Talbot, and from Liberal Alberta Premier A. C. Rutherford did eventually get through to G.T.P. directors, but it only delayed final decision on the route pending further surveys. And there was another factor: earlier suggestions to C.P.R. officials by G.T.P. spokesmen that a projected high level bridge over the North Saskatchewan gorge and river from Strathcona to Edmonton be shared had evidently been rejected. Repeated Grand Trunk Pacific surveys suggested the Clover Bar crossing would give shorter, cheaper and more convenient access to the much greater shipping volume of Edmonton as compared with Strathcona. It may be that Strathcona's smaller population could not have matched the financial inducements offered by Edmonton even had the attempt been made. During the spring of 1906 Strathcona Council and Board of Trade delegates travelled to Ottawa to talk with appropriate government transportation officials; then finally the Council made available enough money to ensure a G.T.P. survey into the town and offered land for terminal facilities, but it seemed to be too little too late.[25]

Strathcona Council was left with the C.P.R., to which it belatedly offered land and tax exemption inducements to build impressive new terminal facilities and the long-surveyed high level bridge to Edmonton.[26] But even this attempt to improve its traditional rail connections southward had, in the wake of the sudden C.N.R. and G.T.P. advances into Edmonton, not nearly the impact or purpose it might have had earlier during the period of Strathcona's railway advantage. Moreover, a C.P.R. high level bridge to Edmonton would provide another though more indirect transcontinental route for Edmonton freight besides those of the two competitors. The inevitable result after its eventual completion would be cooperation among the three lines and an additional impetus to amalgamation of the two communities. Hence, promotion of the high level bridge was an ironic response to the disturbing realization that Strathcona as a separate entity had been left out of the northern transcontinental railways. Strathcona Council in the fall of 1906 authorized a railway approach route to the proposed bridge site. At that time the citizens of Strathcona, whether oblivious to the consequences or resigned to the inevitable, were pressing even more forcefully than the citizens of Edmonton for addition of a non-railway "traffic floor" level on the bridge.[27]

It was the Strathcona Board of Trade which first sent resolutions in April to the provincial and federal governments requesting healthy contributions to the expected $311,000 extra cost for a traffic floor. As the Edmonton Board of Trade discussed its own endorsation of those resolutions, a leading Strathcona advocate, Dr. W. McIntyre, urged the move as a morale boost for a petition circulating in Strathcona. The petition recommended Strathcona ratepayers take on themselves 15 percent of the traffic floor cost up to a maximum of $50,000. In short order that petition, with Premier Rutherford's name at the head of a list of 255, was presented to Strathcona Council. When action was not sufficiently prompt, a "committee of leading citizens" which included ex-Mayor Davies called on Council personally early in May, extracting a promise of a public meeting on the issue. At that public meeting no argument was offered against the bridge addition; what quibble there was had to do with favoured locations or the relationship of the vehicular and foot level of the bridge to ground level. The majority seemed to agree in varying intensity with ex-Mayor Davies' observation that "the town was sick and needed a tonic." The only modification cherished by Mayor W. H. Sheppard was to saddle the Alberta and Canadian governments with the full cost. A committee of eight, including the mayor and ex-mayor, Board of Trade President Orlando Bush and Alderman J. M. Douglas, was created to accomplish the project. When Council appeared to relax its efforts through 1906, the Board of Trade kept up pressure by delegation. While satisfactory arrangements were not achieved until 1910, it is not possible to see in the 1906 controversy the least vestige of resistance to the submergence of Strathcona identity in an integrated transportation and business system for greater Edmonton.

There were in fact other signs that leading Strathconans now saw Strathcona's future in tandem with Edmonton's. It is true that the old dream of city status was pushed to its conclusion toward the end of 1906 culminating in city incorporation in March, 1907, but there were short term practical considerations to that: for qualified towns, city incorporation gave additional financial power, which was the main argument for it offered by the Strathcona Plaindealer and the Board of Trade. That this move did not indicate aggressive championship of a separate Strathcona is confirmed on the one hand by an accompanying failure to solicit assisted location of new businesses in Strathcona, and on the other hand by the trend to share utilities with Edmonton. In several fields - electric power, street lighting, water and sewerage, streets and sidewalks, parks - Strathcona already had systems which its Council continued to maintain.[28] In the expensive fields of transportation and communication, however, cooperation with Edmonton seemed to have certain advantages.

Associated with the idea of a high level bridge was the project of the Strathcona Radial Tramway Company, the majority of whose directors were from Edmonton. Since an October, 1904 incorporation, the company's intention was to create an integrated system connecting Strathcona, Edmonton and Fort Saskatchewan, with the possibility of future radial extension up to eighty miles from 1904 town boundaries. In September, 1906 the directors sought a thirty year franchise and a ten to twelve year taxation exemption from both Strathcona and Edmonton in return "after a time" for sharing profits with the municipalities. The significance of Strathcona Council's acceptance of the scheme in principle was not that any action followed immediately - in fact it did not for several years - but that Strathcona officials raised no fierce objection to so close an integration with the commercially more powerful neighbour.[29] The same was true for development of Strathcona's telephone system. It had been an adjunct of Edmonton's since 1901, and since 1903 that had been run by the municipality of Edmonton as a public utility. In 1906, when advances in telephone technology and population growth made the old system seem as inadequate in Strathcona as in Edmonton, one alternative for Strathcona was to develop its own modern system. Instead, Council swiftly decided to negotiate with Edmonton Council for the cheaper expedient: simple extension of the new Edmonton automatic system throughout Strathcona according to the terms of a fifteen year franchise.[30]

Railway disappointments and strain on Strathcona's capacity to provide urban services were insistently highlighting the easier solution of amalgamation with larger Edmonton precisely at the same time as Edmonton's corporate approach to utility expansion was undergoing extraordinary escalation. Edmonton municipal Council became increasingly and irrevocably important to its citizens, not only as expansion emphasized the need for physical and health services, but also as the civic debt mounted. To discharge that debt must mean the continuation or adaptation of the institutions through which it had been accumulated. The eager acquisition of utilities was made by the community as a whole (in financial terms); the community as a whole must discharge the cost over a long period of time. Furthermore, the community already had a taste of the way this process was inevitably extended by the requirements for maintenance and improvement of some services. The persistence of problems like epidemic disease and poverty was forcing reluctant community attention to public health and welfare, a commitment equally difficult to retreat from once entered. A corollary to the effect on collective financial commitment was the perception of a need for more sophisticated administrative machinery.

Certain Edmonton leaders were instrumental in adapting the executive branch to cope with the increasing civic business. One of these was William Short, who in 1904 had imposed his ideas on the charter of city incorporation. What he proposed was not unique, but borrowed from recommendations of Ontario municipal government experts, especially former Toronto city solicitor W. H. Biggar. The point was to perfect a form of government which would modify the democracy of an elected council with institutions promoting efficient corporate administration and planning; to modify the voices of individual citizens with the bureaucracy of an organic entity. A town the size of Edmonton could not immediately be said to require the separation of legislative and administrative branches of government embodied in the establishment of a small council (eight aldermen) and a board of commissioners each with specified executive powers, the link provided in the dual capacity of the mayor to chair meetings of each body. That is why Edmonton began with but one commissioner other than the mayor; but it could be and was argued that provision was in this form farsightedly made for the future. "Business efficiency" characterized also the nature of aldermanic representation. It was for the city at large, because representation by regional "ward" (a particular group of people) had been judged corrupting by municipal experts for the influence of sectors of the populations in major American and central Canadian cities. In 1906 Alderman

W. A. Griesbach made the Edmonton application unmistakably explicit: "where there is a foreign element, it is often difficult to find a suitable representative."[31]

While Strathcona would at the end of 1906 make plans to follow Edmonton's example, in Edmonton not all aldermen appreciated Short's outlook on the value of the new arrangements. In 1906 - as, indeed, in years to come - Edmonton City Council struggled to accommodate the apparently conflicting jurisdiction of the commissioners' branch. The broader issue arose from an unedifying debate about the competence of City Engineer J. H. Hargreaves. Whether or not to dispense with his services, on the basis of charges he had supervised some cement work of inferior, cracking quality, and had grossly underestimated the costs of certain sewerage works, was a question paradoxically solved by creating a new Commissioner of Public Works position for Hargreaves while appointing another chief engineer to work under him. Hargreaves' argument that the expansion of public works in the city's priorities created undue pressure on administrators was obviously a telling one. Here was an advance over the framework of the 1904 charter arrangements: to the first commissioner (Secretary-Treasurer G. J. Kinnaird) was now added a second; to the first all-encompassing correspondence and financial duties of the old town clerk were now added the boom city responsibilities of a Public Works Commissioner to extend utilities as rapidly as possible.[32]

Sorting out the administrative jurisdictions of the new officials occupied several months of wearying squabbles.

At about the same time the commissioners were engaged in a confrontation with the voluntary fire brigade and solved that by replacing it with a smaller but paid full time force of firefighters. Alderman Griesbach was, however, an "old boy" of the voluntary brigade and did his futile best to reinstate the voluntary system.[33] For varying reasons, therefore, some aldermen were in 1906 discontented with the separation of Council and commissioners' functions. They stimulated a full debate on the underlying principles. Late in April the new provincial legislature found itself studying a number of amendments to the Edmonton Charter proposed by the Edmonton Council, among them two designed to increase council control over the commissioners. One would have reduced the two-thirds majority Council required to dismiss a commissioner. The other would have taken all administrative powers from the commissioners and vested them in the Council with the latter retaining the option of delegating authority to the commissioners.

As Alderman Griesbach argued the case before the legislative committee of the whole, the question was whether commissioners' powers should be derived from the legislature as ensconced in the Charter, or from the City Council. As it was, he claimed, the commissioners were out of public control. Members of the legislature, including Attorney General Cross, himself an Edmonton law partner of William Short, seemed inclined to believe petty quibbling underpinned the Edmonton Council's principles. Cross' legal partner, Short, was also present to make with confidence the same points as in 1904. Business involving $800,000 and more, contended Short, required consistent planning and executive administration. The Council changed composition each year and aldermen had not sufficient time to spend on administration. Indeed, he observed, "the better the aldermen the less time they have," for they would properly be addressing their attention to legislating policy. Better that administrative details be left to commissioners responsible to the elected council but free of undue "cajolery". It was the system of the joint stock company that Short advocated, with aldermen in the place of directors, commissioners in the place of managers. The amendments requested had not been placed before a public meeting in the city nor, Short was certain, would the businessmen of Edmonton either request or accept them. Noting little urgency, Cross commented that more general municipal legislation was in any case due next year, and the amendments died in committee.

Along the same line, both J. R. Boyle (once an alderman and now a Liberal M.L.A.) and the Edmonton Bulletin's editor viewed the city as a twenty million dollar "gigantic stock company". For the ratepayers who constituted the stockholders, it was ludicrous that City Council as the board of directors should consume so much time debating "a six foot plank sidewalk on the east side of steenth street from Beautiful avenue to Black Stump lane." A general manager should handle the details and, on the basis of regular supervisors' reports, issue monthly statements to Council to permit sensible policy decisions.[34]

Nevertheless, in November Alderman Griesbach made a surprising suggestion in the form of a by-law to raise the number of aldermen from eight to ten. Twelve would be even better, he argued, both to lighten onerous work loads and also to permit institution of the apparently popular ward system. But if Griesbach seemed to desert earlier elitest principles in order to counteract increasing bureaucratic power, most of his colleagues maintained theirs. Alderman Bellamy observed wryly that Griesbach's proposition would mean fifty aldermen when the city reached a population of 75,000. Though Griesbach had minority support, he lost his second voluntarist alternative to a paid and expanding civil service.[35] The fact was that debates on the bureaucratic arrangement were resolved in 1906 in favour of the streamlined corporate approach to civic business, for the cause of Council irritability - increasing work - was simultaneously the chief argument for continuation of commissioners' services.

The city's plunge into massive public works did not fail to stimulate some dissent which brought to the attention of civic leaders the existence of Edmonton's social diversity. Some of the outcomes of the boom and the city's corporate response briefly aggravated distinctions in the populace which were both highlighted and dissipated during the year end municipal elections. On the surface, the strain expressed in the electoral framework was an east-west division of opinions, but there were several layers of complexity. There was some hint of a clash of the deprived with the privileged, and among ethnic groups. Signs of animosity against west enders on the part of east enders embodied not simply business rivalries but also other frictions which would in later years be aired by labour or "populist" representatives.

In 1906, however, the form organized labour would take in Edmonton was just being hammered into shape, largely because of determined organizational work by the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the American Federation of Labor. Late in August travelling organizers of those two associations rallied Edmonton tradesmen and labourers in a series of meetings. They urged not only formation of new unions (there were probably not yet a dozen in Edmonton) and emphasis on the "union label", but also affiliation of the new Edmonton Trades and Labor Council (organized in December, 1905) with the Trades and Labor Congress. Typographers, plumbers, lathers, bricklayers and carpenters had been the first to accept the ET and LC motto, "An Injury to One is the Concern of All." They were joined in 1906 by the cigarmakers, barbers, hod carriers and builders' labourers, joiners, blacksmiths, painters, tinners and teamsters. The resulting enthusiasm carried through the ET and LC's first Labor Day program. While the "Caledonian sports" of track and field and the bicycle races and the Strathcona-Edmonton baseball contest all had to be cancelled because of rain, the three hundred who marched in the morning parade behind the mayor and aldermen made quite an impact. The Bulletin judged the procession "a triumph for labor unionism" and "the largest turn-out of organized labor ever seen in Northern Alberta." But on the other hand, if the enthusiasm was there, it proved premature to attempt collective participation in the December municipal elections. The ET and LC delegates decided against complicating further the crowded electoral scene.[36]

Even a September strike of builders' labourers was something of a novelty. When demands for increased pay over a reduced workday were first made, Edmonton Council as one of the employers reacted against the collective approach, taking the position any raises should be on the basis of individual merit. 300 builders' labourers, 200 of them union members, then walked off their jobs on public works and other building projects to conduct an open air meeting. Five days later, when the builders' exchange negotiated a compromise contract reducing hours but maintaining wage rates, along the lines of a precedent arranged with an assortment of building tradesmen in the spring, city commissioners still avoided a formal contract agreement while assuring their sewer construction employees of equivalent treatment.[37] Edmonton unionists had some distance to go to achieve collective recognition for bargaining procedures, let alone prepare political campaigns.

Working people's concerns were therefore submerged in the east-west controversy in the last half of 1906. That confrontation derived substantial impetus from fall railway affairs. First veteran alderman Thomas Bellamy reacted with heated animosity to the city's detailed agreement with the GTP in which, among other things, he foresaw problems of citizen access to established east end streets across which the GTP would be permitted to build. West enders like Griesbach displayed benign complacency during Bellamy's onslaught,[38] but the tables were neatly turned a few weeks later when it came time to consider the simple request from the C.P.R. for permission to cross several streets on the level from the north end of the proposed high level bridge. These were in the middle of the fashionable west end residential area.

During the debate on this proposition over the next three months, the Board of Trade was very clear about its recommendation: to force the C.P.R. to cross in the east rather than the west end, a solution condemned by one alderman as blatantly "saving west end property at the deliberate expense of east end property." Not only Board spokesman William Short, but also the leader of a bitter west end committee of ratepayers, prominent merchant and ex-Mayor John A. McDougall, delved deep into traditional Edmonton business hostility for the C.P.R. If the location was not to be moved, then Short, the Board of Trade and Alderman Griesbach among others looked for "an abatement of nuisances" and some way to avoid cutting main streets "to the detriment of the established interests." At the very least, west enders looked for a complex combination of subway and overhead bypasses, no use of whistles or bells in the vicinity, and the search for "smokeless coal" or "other inoffensive motive power." Council added a stipulation that the three railway companies agree to share a union station, but even the assistance of the federal government in the negotiations gave scant hope for that prospect.[39] It would be a long time yet before the details were settled. For the time being one cannot help but notice that east enders - even those with long residence in Edmonton - saw no comparable need to refer to old C.P.R. wounds in discussion of the high level bridge location.

They were far less sanguine about the Council's selection of a site for the proposed isolation hospital, and other resentments accumulated. A vitriolic letter to the editor of the Bulletin in August decried the arrogant assumption of residential superiority in the west end and condemned their efforts to move the C.P.R. bridge to the east end. The writer was not the first to recommend an east rather than the chosen west end location for the planned parliament buildings. In a May byelection to fill the aldermanic seat vacated by the new M.L.A., J. R. Boyle, there was an east end candidate named Koermann nominated by individuals, among others, with the names Fibiger, Mikota and Nikiforuk. In November, F. W. Brown, proprietor of the Hub Cigar Store, fostered the notion of a straight east end aldermanic ticket and listed the year's grievances in vehement style. "If I had my way," he told a Bulletin interviewer, "not a man west of First street would go into next year's Council, and this business of beautifying the west end with lovely boulevards and elegant drives while labor is too scarce to comply with the hundreds of applications for street connections by east enders should stop." He deplored plans for the expensive new sewer project which seemed to him to place 90 percent of new lateral lines west of First street and he had similar ideas on the planned street car line and paving. He was outraged that the garbage incinerator was slated for construction "right in the middle of the residential section of the east end."

> They tell us that this garbage doesn't smell; that the plant will be a nice place - in fact an ornament. All right. Then we will locate the plant somewhere along McKay or Victoria. I think about a block from the new parliament buildings would suit.[40]

Large and boisterous public meetings in the east end were followed by petitions against the incinerator location, for water connections to the populous north part of east Edmonton, and against ongoing installation of pipe in large parts of the west end where there were no residents at all. Another meeting chaired by Brown to select east end aldermanic candidates was hugely attended, allowing organizers to envision a central committee of no fewer than 100 to direct a canvasser for every block in the city. No effort was made to affect the mayoralty campaign, although the Journal later accused the Liberal "machine" of putting special effort into campaigning among Galicians against Griesbach. Indeed, at one east end meeting which packed Rudyk's hall "to suffocation," all three mayoralty candidates were given speaking time, and all three showed their awareness of the sudden east end agitation. Veteran alderman Thomas Bellamy expressed surprise and concern at the evidence of sectional differences, but was not above hoping for "a smoke stack in every block if it gave employment to labor." The fully employed could then move away from any smoke nuisance which might result. Griesbach castigated Bellamy for his remarkable new patronizing air to east end workingmen; then himself capitulated reluctantly to the idea of ward representation and posed as the champion of broader representation through his scheme of an enlarged Council. The third mayoralty candidate, H. A. Dawson, noted that east end neglect was matched by west end upset over C.P.R. rail location plans, and claimed he would push water and sewerage extension vigorously to prevent disease epidemics. That east enders did not concentrate on the mayoralty contest is shown in the balanced division of support in east and west end Edmonton for the candidates, particularly frontrunners Griesbach and Bellamy.[41]

The keynote of the east end aldermanic campaign was expressed by candidate Thomas Daly, who "said that he had no particular grievance against the present Council except that they were very dirty housekeepers and that they swept a great deal of dirt into the east end." A fellow candidate, Dr. W. McCauley, attacked another east end concern with his own calculation that there had been at least 500 cases of typhoid in the city during the summer and 35 to 40 deaths as a consequence. He maintained that "typhoid was a filth disease, a preventable disease, and that there was no excuse for it if the city's water and sewer works were in proper condition." Besides specific issues, the campaign contained other overtones. Candidate Gustav Koermann, editor since 1903 of the German language newspaper, the Alberta Herold, was a German immigrant by way of Philadelphia and Winnipeg. The ethnic interest was also hinted in the use of Paul Rudyk's hall and in the innuendo of Journal editorials. That an appeal was being made to labour was evident in the platform's clause promising union wages and union hours to city employees.[42]

Other points of discussion, such as the general problem of coping with utilities expansion, did indeed arise, but the basic east-west contest was underlined by the election results. Conveniently for analysis, there were two polling stations, one in the east end, one in the west end. Three of the five east end aldermanic candidates were successful, and the other two placed sixth (Koermann) and seventh in the field of fourteen. Their success was clearly a function of their campaign on behalf of the east end residents: nearly 80 percent of their support came at the east end poll. By contrast, the other two successful candidates, James B. Walker and Wilfrid Gariepy, drew two-thirds of their votes from the west end poll.[43] In the mayoralty contest, young Griesbach easily defeated the veteran Bellamy and the inexperienced Dawson.

Whereas a division of outlook was developing in Edmonton to be both expressed and contained in the framework of the municipal election, no such phenomenon appeared in Strathcona. Former town solicitor N. D. Mills won the mayoralty with an attitude of vigorous attack on the problem of business stagnation. In his analysis, "the business centre was a poor one for the size of the town" because improvements were taxed; he would introduce a single property tax to induce businessmen to build on their lots as in Edmonton. Philosophically he opposed bonusing, but in the west of Canada he believed it necessary to stimulate manufacturing industry. That was his reason for supporting acquisition of a city charter which would allow Strathcona greater power over land. By contrast, his opponent, A. H. Richards, rejected the prospect of "bonusing every concern on every hand" in favour of "a calm, cool council, perhaps even a slow council," although his platform differed little from Mills' in other details. Mills' dedication to future development was expressed as well in his argument for iron water pipes in place of the wooden ones being installed.

This brought an angry reaction from incumbent Mayor Sheppard, who evidently did not like the suggestion his administration had made the wrong - even a backward - choice. In Strathcona the significant issues reflected preoccupation with the failure of Strathcona to match Edmonton's urban boom.[44]

That boom had done more than increase Edmonton's population. It transformed the Edmonton community; committed Edmontonians to the corporate approach to keeping the expansion going and to the collective attack on common requirements for services. The municipal councils and related civic organizations became increasingly and irrevocably important, not only as expansion emphasized the need for physical and health services, but also as the civic debt mounted. To discharge that debt would necessarily mean the continuation or adaptation of the institutions through which it had accumulated. The eager acquisition of utilities was made by the community as a whole (in financial terms); the community as a whole must discharge the cost over a long period of time and the community already had a taste in some cases of the way this process inevitably was extended by the necessity to maintain and improve those services. In addition, the persistence of problems like epidemic disease and poverty was forcing increasing community attention to public health and welfare, a commitment equally difficult to retreat from once entered. Finally, municipal politics functioned to neutralize resentments which simmered during the process of urban growth and integration. Edmontonians were irrevocably on their way to an immersion in corporate at the expense of individual existence. And the strain on

Strathcona's capacity to provide urban services was insistently highlighting the easier solution of amalgamation with larger Edmonton.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), August 18, November 24, 1906. For Canadian interest in the single tax, see A. F. J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in Artibise, Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development (Regina, Canadian Plans Research Centre, 1981), 224-227, and Ramsay Cook, "Henry George and the Poverty of Canadian Progress," CHA Historical Papers (1977), 143-156.

2. EB, June 12, 13, 20, 29, August 11, 16, November 10, 12, 15, 1906.

3. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 58-60; Edmonton Journal (EJ), May 9, 1906.

4. Dale, "The Role," 61; EB, June 2, 29, 1906.

5. Dale, "The Role," 80; EB, January 3, 20, 24, February 22, March 8, April 6, 9, 14, 25-28, May 23, June 6, 29, August 11, 16, 1906.

6. Dale, "The Role," 66-70; EB, January 3, February 21, March 8, 9, 14, 31, June 6, 13, 22, July 11, August 20, November 15, December 1, 19, 1906.

7. Dale, "The Role," 84-89; EJ, January 17, 1906; EB, January 19-24, March 8, 9, 14, September 22, October 19, 20, November 7, December 15, 18, 1906.

8. Dale, "The Role," 120-124; EB, February 1, March 14, April 14, June 29, August 9, 16, 18, 1906.

9. EB, October 12, November 15, 1906.

10. See John C. Weaver, "Edmonton's Perilous Course, 1909-1929," Urban History Review, No. 2-77 (October, 1977); Artibise, "Boosterism;" Dale, "The Role of the City Council."

11. EJ, January 11, 1906; EB, January 10, 24, 27, 30, February 14, September 19, 22, 26, December 19, 1906.

12. EB, January 3, April 28, May 2, June 6, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, July 25, August 16, 1906.

13. Strathcona Council Minutes, January 2, February 6, 20, March 20, April 13, July 10, 24, October 16, November 6, 1906; Edmonton City Archives (ECA); EB, January 3, 16, 24, March 23, June 23, 29, July 6, August 25, September 4, 8, December 27, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 74; Taylor, "The Urban West, Public Welfare, and a Theory of Urban Development," in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, eds., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museum of Man, 1975, 294-298.

14. EB, January 5, 18, March 9, April 14, August 27, October 12, November 24, 1906; EJ, July 2, 1906; Tony Cashman, Edmonton's Catholic Schools (Edmonton, Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 7, 1977), 48-9.

15. John F. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona 1891-1912" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1978), 135; Minutes, Grand Trunk Pacific Directors' meetings, November 8, 1906 and February 7, 1907: Public Archives of Canada, C.N.R. Papers, RG 30, vol. 1104, pp. 269, 299; EB, February 7, March 10, June 30, 1906.

16. Dale, "The Role," 32; EB, February 7, April 6, 11, 14, 19, September 8, November 7, 13, 21, 1906; EJ, December 6, 1906.

17. Dale, "The Role," 24-26.

18. EB, February 3, 13, March 28, July 11, 1906.

19. EB, February 28, March 9, 1906.

20. EB, February 3, 15, March 28, September 11, 1906; Strathcona Council Minutes, October 30, 1906 at pp. 432-3.

21. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 64-74; Information scattered through Strathcona Council Minutes, 1906, pp. 349-450; EB, June 30, 1906.

22. EB, January 9, April 7, 1906; EJ, October 3, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 48.

23. Dale, "The Role," 120-4; EB, January 3, 9, 10, February 21, April 4, June 30-July 6, November 10, 1906.

24. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 108-9, 121-3.

25. Ibid., 123-131; G.T.P. Directors' meeting, Montreal, February 1, 1906: C.N.R. Papers, vol. 1104, p. 179.

26. Strathcona Council Minutes, January 20, March 14, May 30, June 4, July 3, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 26-7.

27. This paragraph and the following one are drawn from Strathcona Council Minutes, April 17, June 19, September 4, 27, October 16, 23, November 6, 20, 27, 1906; EB, January 2, February 3, 26, April 11, May 3, 7, June 13, 21, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 140-1.

28. Strathcona Council Minutes, November 21, December 29, 1905, January 3, 16, February 6, March 12, April 3, 9, 17, May 15, June 4, July 6, 17, 1906; Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 70-71, 75; EB, March 12, April 9, 11, June 28, 1906.

29. Gilpin, "The City of Strathcona," 139-140; Strathcona Council Minutes, September 11, 18, 1906.

30. Dale, "The Role," 80; Strathcona Council Minutes, June 19, October 16, November 6, December 28, 1906; EB, April 28, November 7, 13, December 8, 27, 29, 1906.

31. Weaver, "Edmonton's Perilous Course," 21-23; Artibise, "Boosterism," 214-215, 223-225; Dale, "The Role of the City Council," 104; J. D. Anderson, "The Municipal Government Reform Movement in Western Canada 1880-1920," in A. F. J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., *The Usable Urban Past* (Toronto, Macmillan, 1979), 78-96; EB, August 14, 1906.

32. EB, December 8, 1905, February 28, March 8, 9, 24-31, 1906.

33. EB, March 30-April 5, 19, May 12, 25, 28, June 6, 13, 14, 20, 21, September 19, 1906.

34. EB, March 7, April 21, May 3, December 3, 1906.

35. EB, November 7, 15, 1906.

36. EB, August 21, 27, 28, September 1, 4, November 27, 1906; *Alberta Labor News* supplement *Labor Annual*, September 3, 1921, p. 41; Monthly issues of *Labour Gazette*, vols. 6 and 7, February, 1906-February, 1907; W. R. Askin, "Labor Unrest in Edmonton and District and its Coverage by the Edmonton Press, 1918-1919" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973), 6-7; W. J. C. Cherwinski, "Organized Labour in Saskatchewan: The TLC Years, 1905-1945" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Alberta, 1972), 11-13; Robert Babcock, *Gompers in Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974), 51-53.

37. EB, April 23, September 12, 17, 22, 1906; *Labour Gazette*, vol. 6 (June, 1906), 1339-40.

38. EB, August 18, 25, 1906.

39. EB, September 1, 4, 8, 10, 11, November 5, 14, 1906.

40. EB, January 3, April 28, May 2, June 6, 13, 14, 26, 27, 29, July 25, August 16, 25, November 9, 1906.

41. EB, November 14, 17, 20, 30, 1906; EJ, December 11, 13, 1906.

42. EB, November 14, 17, 20, 30, December 6, 8, 1906; EJ, December 11, 13, 1906.

43. EJ, December 6, 10, 11, 1906; EB, December 6, 11, 15, 1906.

44. EB, November 28, December 6, 11, 1906; EJ, December 6, 11, 1906.

Chapter 11: Voluntary Associations.

Unlike the Women's Hospital Aids Societies of Edmonton and Strathcona, which might in some respects be termed Edmonton's first service clubs, the favourite clubs (at least numerically) to claim the voluntary attention of Edmonton men were still fraternal lodges, ethnically defined associations, political organizations (particularly the Liberal Party) and select local elite clubs. In the long list it is difficult to notice any change since 1898 save expansion. In other fields, church organizations were undergoing a transformation and new additions appeared in professional and occupationally defined societies, cultural groups, military and juvenile organizations. The impression is therefore not of a radical break with established patterns but of a gradual transition to urban community forms of voluntary association. Recreational and especially sports organization in 1906 illustrate the trend so well as to deserve special examination.

The demand for pure fraternity could not be expected to decline while the city expanded. The clubs of ritual rather than service therefore continued to proliferate, their titles betraying their lack of other local purpose. Ancient, Independent and Canadian Orders of Foresters, not to mention the Edmonton Camp, Woodmen of the World, presumably reminded their brethren of the ever remoter link they had with North American frontier conditions. The Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees evoked an even more distant chivalric tradition and the old country to boot. The artificial attempt at exclusiveness shone through in the name of the Canadian Order of Chosen Friends.

All manner of age-old Masonic orders as well as the Oddfellows swelled the fraternal ranks while chapters of the brand new American orders of Elks and Eagles signified modern trendiness. Despite the "Canadian" label in some of the titles, the Edmonton chapters were part of a North American phenomenon. The most recent arrival, the Canadian Benevolent Order of Elks, for example, owed its origin in November to the efforts of a travelling organizer; the Canadian branch was itself a late appendage of a gigantic American organization begun in New York not forty years earlier. The continuing popularity of fraternities was demonstrated by an initial membership list of 280 young Elks in Edmonton, average age 28, the largest Canadian chapter outside Toronto.[1]

Newspaper reports of fraternal activities reveal little or no diversity, merely an endless repetition of routine meetings and "most enjoyable" social occasions, primarily whist drives, dances and banquets. "Edmonton Tent No. 6, K.O.T.M. (Maccabees), meets in Unity Hall, Sandison Block, on the 1st and 3rd Wednesdays in each month at 8 p.m. sharp," read one perpetual and typical classified advertisement. "A cordial welcome will be extended to all visiting Knights." The ritual filled in much meeting time. The Brethren of Jasper Lodge, A.F. and A.M. were requested on one occasion to attend a "lodge of instruction" at the Masonic Hall. Simple maintenance engaged the efforts of travelling organizers - sometimes Americans - even after successful formation; local lodges would occasionally be obliged to meet with them as part of the regular course of events. Participation in provincial "grand lodges" also emphasized the national and international dimensions of the homogeneity being imposed.[2] The Independent Order of Oddfellows' Grand Lodge of Alberta was large enough immediately on its formation to have full representation in the Canadian Sovereign Grand Lodge, apparently an unusual sign in Canada of initial strength. On the local level too the Oddfellows were firmly established. With a membership of 110 and growing, the Friendship Lodge of the IOOF in Edmonton followed the Masonic and Orange Lodges in the acquisition of its own meeting hall. Its members even showed unusual imagination in their entertainments, supplementing the usual dances and formal balls with a summer steamboat excursion.[3]

There was one very significant addition to the city's clubs which shared certain features of the fraternal orders. The Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire was of course a sorority rather than a fraternity, but it was international in scope, its chapters homogeneous in purpose and organization ever since its formation by the British Princess Louise at the turn of the century. The IODE sprang from a particular resurgence of imperial sentiment, with definite objectives other than to promote an imperial sisterhood. The "Westward Ho!" Chapter in Edmonton, the first in Alberta, undertook duties "Imperial, Patriotic and Philanthropic" with a will, and a second "Beaver House" Chapter (after the old nickname for Fort Edmonton) followed immediately. Their officers were the wives of very prominent Edmonton citizens, including Dr. H. C. Wilson, (ex-M.L.A.), Hon. C. W. Cross, and local Conservative M.L.A., A. F. Ewing.[4] From the urban standpoint, two of their projects had significant community impact, certainly more than their call on local churches to recognize Dominion Day in July 1 services. The "Westward Ho!" Chapter first proposed to raise money to purchase an ambulance for the city. To this end an April "Ball Poudre" drew some 300 "men and maidens" to the Thistle Rink and donations were solicited throughout the year. In November the "Beaver House" Chapter turned its energies to a scheme which would both promote desirable immigration and fill a demand among upper class Edmontonians: to bring "domestic servants from the motherland." An interesting bias prevailed in their announcement that "Scotch girls being considered more adapted to Canadian ways will have the preference but any preferring either English or Irish may have them by mentioning the fact in their application." Application here meant advance payment of the fare from Liverpool to Edmonton in return for a six month guaranteed stay by the domestic servant at a low wage less deductions until the fare was paid back to the employer. The genius of the scheme was thought to be its absolute zero cost except for services rendered and its expected tendency to encourage other British family members to come afterward.[5]

Though it had broader ramifications, the IODE was the Edmonton organization closest to the later style of the service club, required to make a contribution to the community. The IODE was also different from the fraternal orders in its frank identification with the British Empire, while most of the others (save the loyal Orange Order) had a North American context. There were other societies in Edmonton and Strathcona with similar groundings in affection for the traditions of the homeland. Many of them were equally British, but we have already seen in the introduction to Edmonton's ethnic groups the persistence of French organizations and the emergence of Ukrainian and German communities. Of these new immigrant manifestations, the German Club Edelweiss was the most public. Its chairman was none other than federal immigration agent C. W. Sutter. Its meetings had a distinctive cultural overtone, with, for example, German musical selections providing some of the attraction; but on the other hand, British traditions were likewise represented in Scottish club entertainments and the Edelweiss Club staged dances and balls much as the other social clubs of the city would do and with the same orchestras. A new variant of old country culture was visibly recognizable in the erection of a hall for the Club Edelweiss in the east end on Kinistino Avenue. That it was useful for other German institutions as well was illustrated by the meeting held there by a travelling German Reformed Church missionary.[6]

Would not this alien cluster point in the city retard rather than promote civic community? For that matter, would not the gatherings of French language organizations, or such diverse British societies as the Sons of England, the Braemar Circle, the Caledonian Society and the vehemently anti-English United Irishmen not themselves tend to divert cooperative energy from the new urban community in which their members found themselves? Not likely. For Edmonton in 1906 it may not be easy to prove the validity of American urban historian Blake McKelvey's perceptive insights on the role of urban ghettoes as assimilative agencies for "self-conscious minorities." McKelvey has argued that even violently separate groups have actually assisted the assimilation process in American cities.[7] But a glance at the activities of Edmonton's "old country" clubs reveals only the mildest social identification of magnitude scarcely substantial enough to shake the larger community. In fact, there is little doubt that they could only have made whatever social or psychological adjustments were necessary easier by providing a little of the familiar pleasantries of old in the new place.

The United Irishmen gathered their forces in March, to organize a banquet in celebration of St. Patrick's Day, March 17. "Lodge Edmonton" of the Sons of England was simply a fraternal order to which membership was restricted by the qualification of birth or parents' birth in England.[8] The Braemar Circle regularly enjoyed "the usual dance program, songs, cornet solos, Highland flings and Scotch reels." Their only departure was a magnanimous one for the city, the presentation of a "Scotch concert" in the Thistle Rink to raise money for the public hospital. The St. Andrew's Society annual highlight was a January Robbie Burns banquet, to which the Lieutenant-Governor, cabinet ministers and M.L.A.s and civic leaders were invited, and at which toasts were traded with "sister societies" like the St. Jean Baptiste Society and the Sons of England. When Scotsmen were invited in December to form the Caledonian Society, the fifty who responded did so specifically to hold weekly social meetings, sometimes to the tunes of the bagpipe. On "Hogmanay Night" (New Year's Eve), they extended the Scottish celebration to dancing.[9] Altogether, these descriptions give the dual impression of innocent traditional entertainment accompanied by occasional gestures of commitment to the larger Edmonton community.

As prosperity prevailed and seemed to increase daily, those who had been in Edmonton and Strathcona since at least the 1890s saw their earlier persistence vindicated. It was perhaps not surprising that old timers should wish to take credit for current good fortune. Sentiments like those in the following paean to Edmonton lovingly composed by a local resident and printed in the Bulletin were not unusual. Seven verses praised the city's founders for their patience and hard work in slow times and expressed a conviction that those early Edmontonians alone created the boom.

> All praise to those who, tireless, wrought,
> Who to this work such skill have brought,
> That all these things have come to be
> Whose consummation now we see.[10]

Organized recognition of these pioneers was still, as in 1898, embodied in the Old Timers' Association, but the organizations of a new elite were beginning to overshadow it. The exclusive Edmonton Club, formed in 1899 by 54 charter members, showed a membership of about 130 in 1906. It was enough to enable the construction of a spacious new clubhouse. Membership depended on sponsorship and acceptance by club members and substantial entrance and continuing subscription fees. That it was purely an elite social club of the city meant to transcend other divisions was emphasized by the very first article of the constitution, which forbade absolutely not only projects but even mere discussions of a political or a religious nature. Another indication of intent was the insistence on decorum and dignity: "No whistling, singing or unseemly demonstrations are permitted in the Club house." The Edmonton Club included very few Strathconans. The first session of the Alberta legislature provided an alternative, a charter for a Strathcona Club, but only desultory discussions of this possibility took place in November.[11]

The preponderance of professional men brought together for the urban community in the Edmonton Club were simultaneously involved energetically in a new range of professional societies: legal, medical, pharmaceutical, architectural and veterinarian. Their purposes were of course primarily self-regulatory, an effort to cope collectively with their economic and technical problems, but the Northern Alberta Medical Association, at least, had further urban significance. Mainly an organization of Edmonton and Strathcona medical men, the Association was a convenient group for consultation on matters of public health. In 1906 this took the form of a request for expert study of Edmonton's plans for an isolation hospital. In other respects the medical men's first priority in 1906 was the same as for other professions: reorientation of their organizations within a provincial rather than the previous territorial context. Amidst the reorganization two new associations affecting Edmonton professionals were chartered: the Alberta Society of Architects and the Alberta Veterinary Association.[12]

The proliferation of professional specialists in Edmonton and their coordination of effort in societies had their counterparts in other areas. Because of its agricultural setting Edmonton was the setting for the meetings of agricultural organizations: the Alberta Farmers' Association, the American Society of Equity, and the Alberta Poultry and Pet Association. On the other hand, a particularly urban group serving those farmers was also organized as the Edmonton District Retail Merchants' Association, which included Strathcona, Fort Saskatchewan and St. Albert representatives.[13] All these organizations did more than merely coordinate specialists of a kind. Equally important, they introduced provincial, Canadian and international standardization to Edmonton practices; they helped make Edmonton life in certain respects indistinguishable from urban life elsewhere.

A similar universality was evident in the overwhelming visibility of Liberal Party organization in Edmonton's federal and provincial politics. Although there were certainly plenty of prominent citizens allied with the Conservative Party, the Liberals in 1906 seemed determined to identify the community with their organization. Though there was a Conservative newspaper (the Journal) which was ever ready to take issue with its Liberal rival (the Bulletin), in other respects the Conservatives still had no equivalent to the Liberal organizational activities. Firmly established in both federal and provincial governments, the Liberals had no difficulty winning a Strathcona (urban and rural) federal byelection with a Strathcona candidate, Dr. W. McIntyre.[14] But there was more to Liberal preeminence in the Edmonton urbanism than that.

The senior organization in each constituency was the Liberal Association which, for the most part, devoted itself to regular business meetings. On occasion, however, its members could stage a spectacular civic event designed to impress citizens with the magnitude of the local Liberal fact. Frank Oliver was "Honourable" now, a cabinet minister in the Laurier government with an extremely important western portfolio, that of the Interior. In October, local Liberals took advantage of his visit to Edmonton to stage a massive publicity event, a banquet in his honour in Thistle Rink. Not far below 500 tickets were sold for the extravaganza; nearly 450 men sat down to the feast, including Edmonton alderman and president of the Liberal Association of Edmonton, R. J. Manson. The Association and Party in Edmonton cut across ethnic lines, so that in addition to the British and French names, the list of officers included G. Koermann.[15] An even more active and regular community presence was established by the new Young Liberal Club, which expressly added to a political function the social one of fraternity and collective entertainment. Less than a year old at the beginning of 1906, a year later the Club boasted an active membership of 185 to participate in mock parliaments, debates on women's suffrage or the question of Chinese exclusion from Canada, and the recreation of a well rehearsed male chorus.[16] In 1906 no local Liberal doubted that the Liberal Party represented Edmonton in the province's and nation's political arenas.

Cultural integration was only haltingly promoted by organized groups in Edmonton. The relevant organizations in this field were of two kinds: literary and musical. Their interests were more specific than was the mass entertainment brought into the city from outside (which will be discussed separately), but their effect in highlighting works generally accepted in the western world was the same, only weaker. Consider the programs of the High School Literary Societies, the Literary Society of Alberta College, the Women's Literary Society and the Alberta Literary Society. The young people's societies concentrated on debates, recitation and elocution, but on occasion produced musical programs of standard works. The Women's Literary Society spent the spring reading and discussing Shakespeare's "As You Like It." A comparable Ladies' Musical Society met in members' homes regularly.[17]

In 1906 Edmonton took a major step into the mainstream of Canadian military life. Strong January rumours that three independent squadrons of Canadian Mounted Rifles were to be formed in Edmonton, Strathcona and Fort Saskatchewan were turned into reality late in April. Edmonton's Major S. Paton and
9 Strathcona's Major F. C. Jamieson received instructions to enroll seventy-five non-commissioned officers and men in each of "A" and "B" Squadrons. Paton and Jamieson each had the assistance of five commissioned officers, Paton's including Lieutenant W. A. Griesbach. The new military presence had several interesting social effects which became obvious during the two weeks of the first annual training camp from the end of June into early July. First, all three squadrons camping and drilling together on "Groat's flats" along the North Saskatchewan river in Edmonton's west end could not help but attract general attention from surrounding cliffside viewpoints. The camp was open to visitors for a time each after-

noon. One Saturday night the non-commissioned officers and men of "A" Squadron (Edmonton) gave a "smoker and bonfire entertainment" to all their friends. Sunday church parades were advertised and the public invited. The Canadian Mounted Rifles concluded their training with a public show of their marching form at the Edmonton Exhibition on a day when 3,300 visitors paid to attend the fair and countless school children were admitted free of charge.[18]

The officers defined a new element (albeit with many of the same individuals) of Edmonton's elite. Ladies attending an "At Home" given by the officers at the camp were "received by the officers in full dress uniform." When the same officers staged a formal dinner in honour of the visiting Inspector General of the Canadian Militia, Lord Aylmer, their guests included Lieutenant-Governor Bulyea, the Hon. Frank Oliver, Attorney General Cross, the two mayors, Strathcona M.P. Dr. McIntyre, Senators Roy and Talbot, Edmonton Board of Trade President A. T. Cushing, Edmonton Club President T. A. Stevenson, Edmonton Exhibition Association President Joseph Morris, RNWMP Captain Strickland, M.L.A. Frank Walker and the Rev. Henry Allan Gray. Lord Aylmer, with his staff and officers of the C.M.R., was subsequently entertained at luncheon by Edmonton city officials. Edmonton and Strathcona were successfully integrated into the Canadian military tradition with the establishment of the C.M.R. squadrons. Furthermore, at the end of the year plans were underway to enroll men in a local infantry regiment.[19]

Some of this might help to explain the popularity in their first year of the Boys' Brigades. Already underway before 1906, the Boys' Brigades of St. Paul's and All Saints' Anglican, McDougall and Grace Methodist, and First Presbyterian churches were troubled in the first few months of the year by poor attendance at regular meetings. Drill and various programs filled the meetings, including in one case a slide lecture on the Boer War by Rev. H. A. Gray, and in several others the participation of the boys in recitation and song presentations. An upswing in membership, whether coincidental or not, followed the arrival from England of fifty boys' uniforms. The Brigades were centrally coordinated by an executive council of what was called the Edmonton Battalion (W. A. Griesbach, honorary president). By late April, a membership of well over 100 boys was reported to Battalion Council meetings; in May a Brigade at First Baptist Church joined the Battalion. Members by this time sported not only uniforms but also rifles, and were reviewed by C.M.R. officers at the June C.M.R. camp and at the Exhibition. Bugle bands were contemplated by the All Saints' Anglican and Grace Methodist Brigades, but in the fall activity tapered off once again to regular parades and variety presentations.[20]

While it was a notable phenomenon as an extension of the military flavour into Edmonton society, it is perhaps even more remarkable as an introduction to the increasing emphasis of major Protestant churches on non-worship community activities. The Boys' Brigade was organized under the direction of Anglican Rev. Herbert Wilkinson in 1905 on the Ontario model with which he was familiar and which he said would have "a disciplinary as well as a social and religious" purpose.[21] All the major denominations had developed men's, women's and young people's societies, of which several had advanced beyond purely religious worship and fraternity. The Methodist, Presbyterian and Baptist men's and youth groups in particular often met to debate issues of local or national community interest: topics included government ownership of the "liquor traffic", government ownership of great monopolies like railways and mining companies, the merits of commercial competition to economic progress, the abolition of the Canadian senate, the value of the British Crown, comparative merits of certain nationalities, the relative superiority of country versus city life, and the relationship of advanced civilization to true happiness. Several different groups engaged in literary studies, chiefly of Tennyson.[22]

Entertainment by and for these clubs was often too popular for the confines of church halls, and might be staged in the Orange Hall on the north side or Ross Hall on the south side of the river. First Presbyterian young people once presented a "Scotch social"; First Baptist young people an "Irish" social and both All Saints' Anglican and the south side St. Anthony's Catholic churches seemed to favour the game known as "progressive pedro". Skating parties and "At Homes" were popular in winter; lawn socials in summer. St. Paul's Anglican Church had an athletic club. Occasionally there was inter-denominational cooperation, as when the Young Men's Clubs of Grace Methodist and St. Paul's Anglican churches arranged a chess tournament. The value of such social interchange not just to the churches but also to the larger urban community was made explicit in a practice of the First Presbyterian congregation. The intention of its regular well-attended "social hours" after Sunday evening services was to welcome strangers.[23]

Sometimes entertainment was offered by these organizations with the help of congregational choirs to the community at large, usually in the form of concerts partly or entirely secular, but sometimes in other forms. The "Willing Workers' Mission Band" of All Saints' Anglican church provided the music for Edmonton's annual fancy dress costume skating carnival at Thistle Rink, attended by more than 1,000 revellers. Anglican and Catholic ladies contributed to Edmonton's midsummer fair by running the dining halls. All Saints' Ladies' Aid presented a comic tableau, "Mrs. Jarley's Wax Works" to a packed house. That there could be quite a range in the flavour of entertainments provided by different congregations was obvious during the Christmas season. Strathcona's Holy Trinity Anglican Sunday school concert in Ross Hall provided items like "Santa Claus and the Mouse" and a "May Pole Drill," while a neighbouring Baptist concert was held in the church with a much more resolutely worshipful program.[24] Despite these differences, all the established congregations were equally energetic and undoubtedly contributed a hefty share of Edmonton's community social activities.

While no figures are easily at hand for this intercensus year, the largest denominational representation - indicated by as many as three congregations each in Edmonton and Strathcona and expanding facilities - was still Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist, Roman Catholic and Baptist. The last named seem to have expanded their membership considerably since 1898, with a new church capacity of 600 on the north side and a notable increase in their community involvement.[25]

Within their own confines, and with far less public profile, some of the smaller congregations may have served some of the same functions, often with ethnic and class twists. An account of the origin of the German Baptist church, formed on the combined initiative of western Canadian Baptists and the American German Baptist Conference, emphasizes the majority of "servant girls and labourers" who comprised the early congregation. A survey of occupations for citizens of German ethnic origin in Henderson's Directory roughly confirms the same working class (labourers and tradesmen) characteristics for the two German Lutheran congregations whose members made up a far larger population than did the German Baptists.[26] Even though the initiative for Ukrainian Greek Catholic organization in Edmonton came from Roman Catholic officials anxious to fend off the ministry of Protestants and of Russian Orthodox priests, the formation of St. Josaphat's parish was accepted by its people again largely on the basis of ethnic familiarity. These churches, we might speculate with reasonable assurance, provided a social buffer against the strangeness of local institutions and thus eased the transition. As with the Germans, the Ukrainians ministered to were mainly servant girls in Protestant households gradually supplemented by working class families.[27]

The east end was, on the other hand, the usual location for an entirely different religious manifestation: the revival meeting. The Rev. C. H. Huestis of McDougall Methodist Church (in city centre at the fringe of the east end) seems to have perceived a need early in the year when he conducted a series of evening "special revival meetings" himself. But the regular denominations were not normally responsible for such services. The Rev. Oscar L. King, Free Methodist missionary who divided his time between the city and the countryside in his revival meetings, began with services in private homes at the beginning of the year, briefly got the cooperation of German Baptist clergyman A. Hagar to hold evening services with the help of Rev. Mrs. Lizzie J. King in the German Baptist Church, and when the weather improved pitched his Gospel Tent at the corner of east end Syndicate and Clara streets. There he addressed decidedly personal rather than community subjects: one was "Hell - Where it is; What it is; and Who goes there." Without exactly becoming widespread, the phenomenon showed signs of becoming a distinctive urban occurrence, one unassociated with the city's middle class. In November a series of "special evangelistic services" was conducted in east end Unity Hall and in the south side Walters Hall by a visiting English evangelist and his assistant.[28] Without too much stretch of the imagination, these services can be seen as appeals to discontented souls with messages of basic truths designed to set them at rest. As such, they had palliative urban social significance.

Two new non-congregational institutions of established churches had become most conspicuous by 1906: Alberta College and the Young Men's Christian Association. In this short period preceding the opening of the University of Alberta, the Alberta College enjoyed its greatest impact on the community. Early in 1903 officers of McDougall Methodist Church campaigned in favour of a Methodist college in Edmonton. Finding enthusiasm and financial support in Edmonton, a committee of the Manitoba and North-West Conference of the Methodist Church recommended action, which was then planned jointly by the Canadian Methodist Church's Secretary of Education and the local congregation. In July, 1903 Professor J. H. Riddell of Wesley College, Winnipeg was invited to become Alberta College's first principal, and incorporation by the legislative assembly of the Northwest Territories followed in 1904. Unable to make an academic link with the University of Manitoba, Alberta College accepted affiliation with McGill University, which permitted the College to provide two years of the Arts course which would be accredited to students wishing to proceed to a third year at McGill. Until 1908, therefore, Alberta College occupied a special position in the lives of educated Edmontonians.[29]

By 1906 Alberta College educated and trained more than 300 students annually, the majority not in the university program, it is true, but rather in matriculation and commercial courses. An advertisement for daytime and evening typing and shorthand courses boasted that 100 graduates of those courses had been successfully placed in stenographers' and related office positions. Other part-time programs were offered in music and elocution. Principal Riddell, though delighted that the College appeared to be satisfying substantial and diverse demand, professed the College's primary aim to be "to touch the lives of the young men and women and enrich the citizenship of our growing province." Many residential students were from points outside Edmonton and Strathcona, but the College was known best within the urban centre. Participation in football and hockey competition with other city teams as well as occasional presentations of music and elocution reinforced that impression. The College's profile was much higher than that of a private day school for girls which was concurrently getting organized. The official opening of a new Alberta College school year in November drew more than 300 onlookers, including the Premier, the Lieutenant-Governor and the mayor.[30]

Of even more significance to the urban community was the ambitious organization of the Young Men's Christian Association. It was rather symbolic that 1904, the year of city incorporation, was the year the highly organized Y.M.C.A. replaced the voluntary Edmonton Young Men's Institute which had depended since 1899 largely on the time and effort donated by such busy fatherly figures as John A. McDougall and Rev. H. A. Gray. When the organization of hockey, tennis, lacrosse, cricket, instructional classes and a debating club grew beyond the capacity of the voluntary organizers to coordinate them, McDougall turned to a more professional substitute. His discussions late in 1903 with other men concerned to ensure organized recreation for men in the burgeoning city led to a mass meeting in January, 1904 to initiate plans for formation of a Y.M.C.A. chapter. On the advice of the international secretary of the long established Y.M.C.A., W. M. Parsons, money was immediately subscribed for the purchase of lots and a committee was struck to canvass for building funds. The original organizing committees and boards of directors were peopled by individuals whose names read like a "who's who" of Edmonton business and professional men. A location was acquired in 1905 and in January, 1906 the Board followed normal Y.M.C.A. procedure by inviting R. B. Chadwick, secretary to the Y.M.C.A. in Belleville, Ontario, to become paid executive secretary for the Edmonton chapter.[31]

On his arrival in April, Chadwick outlined the immediate requirements: officers and a board of directors of prominent businessmen to build facilities worth up to $75,000, and the appointment of a director of physical activities for the club as the beginning of a paid staff. By June a new campaign for $60,000 was underway (to which well over $45,000 was subscribed at year end), an architect was busy and a general contractor was ready to begin work. Excavation was complete in August and construction begun. During the public appeal for funds, Chadwick explained that the Y.M.C.A.'s purpose, to develop men "mentally, morally and physically," would require separate religious, education, physical, information, employment and relief departments. The physical trainer would take charge of the intelligent direction of the play spirit in order to instill good habits in boys "unconsciously". Similar community services would be performed for older men in businessmen's and technical education classes. He summed up by quoting U.S. President Roosevelt's accolade that the Y.M.C.A. "is one of the most potent influences in the life of the nation in promoting Christian citizenship." Even Methodist Rev. H. C.

Huestis' insistence that the Y.M.C.A. was not a substitute for church participation only emphasized further the appeal of the organization for its larger community value when he called it "an institution that commands the attention of successful businessmen." In November preparation began for a provincial bill of incorporation modelled on that of the Toronto Y.M.C.A. Both the Act of incorporation and the building were completed in 1907. Significantly, the charter added to Chadwick's earlier statement of Y.M.C.A. objectives the "social" improvement of young men.

This highly structured Protestant extension into urban community development contrasts markedly with the lag in the impetus of Protestant social purity movements. Activity seemed limited to periods of specific controversy, such as the June hearings on applications for liquor licenses. The Baptist Church had early in the year declared its opposition to the granting of any liquor licenses outside the city's business district, particularly any which might be proposed for the vicinity of the C.N.R. station. Nevertheless, Paul Rudyk's new east end International Hotel received its license, although two restaurants did not. The Baptists were roused to stage an isolated rally. The Alberta Methodist Conference happened to be meeting at that time in Edmonton: it took time out to resolve in favour of a "strong stand for prohibition of the liquor bar." The techniques of temperance sermons and temperance prayer meetings were the limit, however, of Methodist prohibitionist imagination, save for the call by Huestis for moral reform workers to participate in municipal politics to "get on the 'inside' and get control of the organization." Only Principal Riddell of Alberta College seemed to take his duties seriously, leading a delegation to press City Council to forbid liquor licenses to restaurants "on the ground that they were practically licensing saloons" and endangering young men. Alderman Griesbach responded that "he was a young man himself and he did not feel much afraid."[32]

In the characterization of "saloons" lurked the parallel fear of debilitating gambling and prostitution. Open gambling in connection with the July Exhibition was resisted on both sides of the river as a "disgrace to the city" and primarily a police problem. Prostitution was treated in ways which demonstrated an official attitude of resignation. In response to one complaint, Alderman Picard pointed out that the area in question - around Norwood school in the north-east - had not been part of Edmonton before City incorporation. Extension of the boundaries therefore placed within city limits a red light district whose residents had not intended to establish themselves there. He therefore advocated some leniency, but civic officials moved to have the "houses of ill fame" removed. In December, however, police raids on "sporting houses" continued to result in substantial fines being collected in police court. Newspaper reports seemed to treat the problem as normal. In Strathcona, there was a variation on the theme: there a petition reached Council asking that town boundaries be extended to include the "houses of ill fame" situated just beyond the fringe, presumably so town policemen could make arrests. Council was content to leave jurisdiction in this touchy matter to the RNWMP: boundaries remained for the time being as they were.[33]

Yet moral reform raised at best sporadic enthusiasm. Members of the fraternal order known as the Royal Templars of Temperance, who had settled down to a routine of bi-monthly meetings interspersed with an occasional social "At Home", briefly launched a membership drive. The Presbytery of Edmonton got little further than a resolution on "The Relation of Presbyterianism to National Righteousness" which urged Presbyterian clergymen to deal "firmly and wisely" with the problems of "temperance, social purity and civic righteousness." Ironically, they then indicated pretty clearly the key stumbling block by their call for Presbyterian organizations to provide financial support for clergymen who might alienate some of their normal sources by a forthright stand on the issues. Aside from formation of a temperance and moral reform committee late in the year, little else was heard on the subject in Edmonton.[34]

The cause was moribund despite the continued activity of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The gentleman who worried in a letter to the Bulletin early in the year that prohibitionist agitation worked a "serious evil" by "filling the community with bitterness and asking good citizens to cast aside public works with the one object" of eliminating dispensation of liquor need not have concerned himself. Edmonton's may have been the Alberta W.C.T.U.'s "banner Union as regards membership," yet it had but fifty-one active members; Strathcona's eighteen. Aside from distributing over 200,000 pages of temperance literature to lumber and mining camps and another 1,500 or so to the C.P.R. railroad station and the Strathcona immigration hall, the local W.C.T.U. chapters made little impact. The Strathcona union managed to get 400 south side Sunday School children to take a pledge of total abstinence from liquor and to petition Town Council in opposition to the menace of slot machines, but otherwise both unions were more engaged in community services like hospital work and financial assistance to the Y.M.C.A. building fund. Nor did the sporadic meetings of the Edmonton Branch of the Lord's Day Alliance spark noticeable enthusiasm.[35]

Clearly the temperance work of the W.C.T.U. was taking a temporary back seat to the boom-stimulated organization of the Y.M.C.A., a different kind of community service. There had been a shift in interdenominational energies, one in which prominent laymen of various congregations were far more vitally involved than they had ever been in prohibitionist crusades. It is against the background of the Y.M.C.A. that the January ecumenical week of prayer and pulpit exchange among Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist clergymen, or the June announcement of Alberta Methodist Conference willingness to consider denominational church union in Canada must be understood. The city's development forced attention to the possibility, it seems, not the clergymen. Thus, a Bulletin editorial approving the Methodist position made just two intriguing points: first, that unique western friendliness among denominations on a practical basis favoured such a move; second, that the "primal purpose" would be "that society should receive the moral uplift which is the real purpose and mission of all churches [italics added]." No theological argument here, nor any concern for individual salvation. Those debates were evidently left to the city's Ministerial Association formed early in the year.[36]

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), November 7, 12, 1906. Reports on the meetings of other organizations appeared regularly in the city's newspapers.

2. EB, January 2, February 10, March 26, June 18, August 6, 1906.

3. Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 6, 1906; EB, January 11, August 25, 1906. A systematic search through daily newspaper reports on Masonic orders, IOOF, Knights of Pythias, Loyal Orange Order, Knights and Ladies of the Maccabees, Independent, Ancient and Canadian Orders of Foresters, Woodmen of the World, American Order of Eagles, Canadian Order of Chosen Friends and the Elks, among others less noticeable, supports these generalizations.

4. EB, February 5, March 24, 30, April 21, September 13, 1906.

5. EB, March 30, April 14, 18, June 30, September 13, November 5, 1906.

6. EB, January 9, 17, 18, April 23, 25, 1906.

7. Blake McKelvey, "Cities as Nurseries of Self-Conscious Minorities," Pacific Historical Review, vol. 39 (1970), 367-381.

8. EB, January 26, February 6, March 14, 16, 1906.

9. EB, January 25, 27, March 6, April 4, 7, 20, June 22, December 8, 11, 15, 21, 29, 1906; EJ, January 27, 1906.

10. EB, April 9, 1906.

11. EB, February 1, November 6, 1906; The Edmonton Club, Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members (Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913), 3-15, 32.

12. EB, February 2, 21, March 8, 21, June 4, 5, 25, July 6, September 8, 1906.

13. EJ, January 11, 1906; EB, February 3, 12, 21, March 8, 13, 23, November 17, 19, December 18, 1906.

14. EB, March 14, 17, April 6, 7, 1906.

15. EB, January 13, March 14, 17, 22, April 6, 7, June 26, 27, October 6, 1906.

16. EB, January 16, 18, February 5, April 9, June 15, 18, September 8, November 20, December 5, 1906.

17. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 11, 13, 24, 27, March 7-9, 13, 20, 22, 27, June 12, 26, September 8, November 19, 24, 30, December 3, 1906.

18. EJ, January 8, 11, 1906; EB, April 30, May 1, June 19, 21-25, 29, 30, July 3, 1906.

19. EB, June 21-27, November 7, 1906.

20. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 5, 11, 22-24, February 5, April 23, 25, May 9, June 28, 30, July 3, October 6, November 19, 1906.

21. Frank A. Peake, "The Beginnings of the Diocese of Edmonton, 1875-1913" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1952), 61-62.

22. EB, January 2, 15, 29, February 26, March 7, 14, 26, 28, August 25, October 11, November 19, December 21, 1906. The Edmonton Council of the Knights of Columbus was just in the process of organization from August to November, 1906: see R. A. MacLean, "The History of the Roman Catholic Church in Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1958), 137. Other church club notes festoon local news columns of the Bulletin and Journal for 1906. George N. Emery has analysed the new style for Canadian Methodists, and sees the change from early nineteenth century camp meeting evangelism to turn-of-the-century emphasis on education and "nurturing" institutions like the various internal clubs as manifestations of new urban middle class respectability more concerned with membership growth than mission. See his "Methodism on the Canadian Prairies, 1896-1914" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1970), 46-85.

23. EJ, January 8, 19, 1906; EB, January 2, 22, 30, 31, February 17, 27, March 5, 12, 13, 26, June 27, July 13, November 12, 13, 19, 1906.

24. EB, February 10, 23, March 15, June 18, 20, 30, November 5, 13, 19, 27, December 26, 31, 1906.

25. EB, March 26, 1906; and see lists of services in EB and EJ any Saturday, for example, EB, November 17, 1906; MacLean, "The History," 41-46; Emile J. Legal, comp., Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Alberta (1914), 30-37; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta and the Klondike 1881-1925" (Unpublished

M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 39-40; The Knox Story 1907/1967: A History...Dating Back to 1891 (Pamphlet - Knox United Church, Edmonton, 1967), 21-23; 1871-1931 Diamond Jubilee of McDougall United Church (Pamphlet - McDougall United Church, Edmonton, 1931), 12; Peake, "The Beginnings", 60-62, 73-76.

26. C. C. McLaurin, Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists (Calgary, The Author, 1939), 138, 343-4. St. John's Lutheran Church, east end Kinistino and Picard, advertised German and English services each Sunday: EB, November 10, 1906. A church building was constructed in spring, 1906: EB, February 6, April 23, 1906.

27. Legal, Short Sketches, 121-6.

28. EB, January 18, 22, 27, April 23, May 1, June 12, 16, November 10, 27, 1906; EJ, January 27, 1906.

29. J. H. Riddell, Methodism in the Middle West (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1946), 271-275; Emery, "Methodism," 15-16, 347.

30. EB, January 2, 16, February 9, 27, June 13, 19, 30, November 12, 24, 1906.

31. This paragraph and the next are developed from a typescript manuscript written from Y.M.C.A. minutes, "The History of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association," 1-8: Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Papers, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton; EB, January 8, 13, March 12, April 16, 27, 30, June 16, 22, August 27, November 12, 27, 1906.

32. EB, January 3, June 13, 16, 20, 21, 28, July 7, 1906.

33. Strathcona Council Minutes, February 6, 1906, at p. 361: Edmonton City Archives; EJ, June 18, 1906; EB, January 10, 17, 24, February 14, June 30, July 3-6, December 3, 15, 1906.

34. EJ, January 6, 1906; EB, January 3, February 22, March 22, June 13, 16, 18, 20, November 30, 1906; Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 130-131.

35. Local Edmonton and Strathcona union reports to the Alberta W.C.T.U. convention, October 1906: W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 6, File 34, Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives, Calgary; EB, January 9, 22, 25, April 23, 1906.

36. EB, January 2, 22-25, February 6, April 23, June 20, 1906. Evidently a "mass meeting of Methodists and Presbyterians in Edmonton" had endorsed church union already once before, in 1904, despite the local eminence of the "pronounced Presbyterian chauvinist," Rev. D. G. McQueen, later destined to lead dissenting Presbyterians out of church union in 1925: Emery, "Methodism," 331-337.

Chapter 12: Recreation and Entertainment.

Edmontonians were entertained, if not en masse, at least in substantial masses already in 1906, and to a startling extent they were passive spectators. Without denying the continuation of private recreational activity, it is obvious that the organized variety boomed. The key factor in recreation seems to be some degree of fantasy, some pleasant escape from the realities of earning a livelihood and managing family and other social relationships. Associated with that basic requirement might be exercise, display (as in theatre and costumes), artificial competition (card games, costume balls or sports contests), and social intercourse. Eliminate the exercise, and what is left is necessarily a display allowing only vicarious participation and pleasure for the spectators. On the other hand, far larger numbers of people could be accommodated simultaneously by display entertainment: this variety was well into its initial development in Edmonton in 1906.

Other varieties were of course not excluded, only their proportion of the available recreation was on the decline. Both fancy dress costume skating carnivals and dances gave participants opportunity simultaneously to exercise, socialize and provide a spectacle. Skating carnivals which would attract from 200 to 1,000 costumed skaters were bi-weekly occurrences giving colour to the open skating privileges available all winter long not only at the Thistle and Strathcona rinks, but also at a number of open air rinks. The various halls on both sides of the river were occupied even more frequently for dances sponsored either by specific organizations like the hockey clubs or the German Club Edelweiss, or by the "Bachelors" and "Bachelor Maids". Some, like the Hospital Ball, raised money for charity, but most were pure recreation for the hundreds who attended, with the inevitable by-product of strengthening communal harmony.[1]

Picnics could have been even more useful in this respect, as would be proven in later years, for the crowds could be greater and the occasions if less frequent then more special, but the "monster picnic" was a community technique used in 1906 only by the ladies of Strathcona to raise money for their fledgling hospital. Otherwise picnics were reserved for smaller groups like Edmonton's Danish community and various church groups.[2] Huge gatherings for entertainment did, however, take place on occasional special holidays. One of the most fitting in this year of railway bonanza took place on Victoria Day, May 24. More than 1,200 Edmontonians and Strathconans bought train tickets to Fort Saskatchewan, there to watch sporting events and to dance, all made possible by the new C.N.R. line. Dominion Day, a national event, was submerged in the attractions of the Edmonton fair, a local extravaganza running four days at the beginning of July. It is likely that businessmen saw the fair's value principally in financial terms. Exhibition Association directors eagerly anticipated 20,000 attendance to be drawn in part by special trains put on rail lines to a hundred mile radius. There were, however, other aspects to it. A Bulletin editorial hoped for a successful fair as an advertisement of collective civic and agrarian vitality, and the shopkeepers themselves interrupted their bursting business opportunities for a day at the height of the fair in order to attend. It served as a focus, a symbol of collective effort and, especially, success. On the first day 3,300 paid to attend, while uncounted school children, the Boys' Brigades and military personnel entered free. Agricultural exhibits, particularly of livestock, and horse racing drew most of the visitors' attention.[3]

The herd characteristic taking over Edmonton entertainment was even more evident in regular week to week offerings in Edmonton's halls, theatres, rinks and playing fields. Very little of the fantasy which Edmontonians paid to take in was provided from within their own ranks, even that early. The few musical variety concerts and fewer amateur theatrical presentations offered by local talent were almost unnoticeable amidst the professionals touring through the city. The Thistle Rink - an arena fitted for theatre, Robertson's Hall before fire consumed it, Ross Hall on the south side, the Empire Theatre built in June and the Edmonton Opera House after its October opening, all caried entertainment of decided mediocrity which was rewarded with generally full sized crowds.

There were some exceptions which proved the rule. The serious French Canadian prima donna referred to consistently as "Madame Albani" carried such a reputation and was given such a promotional build-up that the capacity audiences may have come more for the spectacle of celebrity than for her singing. After all, she was during her stay in May a guest at Government House, and her performances drew the attendance of all the leading public citizens. A slightly different example was the touring Harold Nelson Stock Company which mixed popular and lavishly produced light theatre like The Virginian, David Garrick's Love and The Prisoner of Zenda with Shakespeare's The Merchant of Venice. Nevertheless, the company's leading man, Harold Nelson, who was invariably its main attraction to the crowds which attended, soon complained that the popularity of Shakespearian drama had almost disappeared in the face of the demand for visual spectacles associated with the less sophisticated plays.[4]

The rest of Edmonton's theatrical fare made little pretense at cultural elevation. Stock companies showing off melodramas like The Convict's Daughter, A Foxy Tramp, Rip Van Winkle and The Irish Boarder were merely "merry makers", and musical productions were mainly proven American hit comedies. One company, the Roscian Opera Company, did supplement recognized operettas including Gilbert and Sullivan numbers with the operas Martha and Cavalleria Rusticana. Nevertheless, the greatest plaudits seemed reserved for the Juvenile Bostonians who produced "the 'excruciatingly funny cannibalistic' musical comedy 'Gee Whiz';" or Pollard's Lilliputian Opera Company whose repertoire included A Runaway Gal, The Gaiety Girl and The Lady Slavey. How does one explain the week long success of an offering by the Zinn Travesty Company called Teezy Weezy? Some of the specialty groups must have seemed incongruous in this northern setting with minstrel shows featuring "the latest coon ditties" or "the Zulu travesty, 'A Dream of Dahomey'," or endless variations of Uncle Tom's Cabin.[5] Some of these groups verged on vaudeville variety shows, supplementing their major features with the contortions of jugglers, unicyclists and Siberian bloodhounds.

One pure vaudeville troupe, announced the Bulletin with relish, presented "no pathos or seriousness anywhere to interrupt the stream of mirth" and did "not aspire to ethics or classics, [taught] no moral lesson, and [did] not attempt to be instructive." Exactly. Edmonton was solidly and happily plugged in to the homogeneous North American phenomenon of travelling fantasy entertainment. The first, though temporarily unsuccessful attempt at opening a theatre (the Empire) for four daily performances of "refined vaudeville" in June was a sign of things to come. The Edmonton Opera House was built in the fall for a steady diet of variety theatre, supplemented in afternoons by roller skating. A prairie Managers' Association was being promoted from Calgary to coordinate prairie bookings for North American touring companies, to create a Canadian prairie "circuit" so to speak.[6] The enlivening of hundreds of urban lives nightly had become another business specialty, a service performed for an urban population rather than by themselves, and standard marketing procedure to satisfy the broadest taste promised little fundamental variety or quality. The new urban entertainment was in its standardization of fantasy both a communal force and a communal sign.

Sports entertainment was following a similar pattern, but with the added dimension of competition. Even "friendly games", as they were called, of hockey between plumbers and pharmacists, Bulletin and Journal newsboys, C.N.R. and C.P.R. employees, doctors and lawyers, the residents of different hotels, and the employees of several major stores, all reflected aspects of urban organization. At the same time, competition engendered a separate sort of organization. Only golf and tennis tournaments appear to have been entirely local.[7] Sports clubs proliferated in the city, launched at first simply to regulate local competition in hockey (men's and women's), cricket, curling, football, lacrosse, baseball, rifle marksmanship and tennis. The ultimate coordination of the affairs of all the athletic clubs in an association patterned after the Montreal Amateur Athletic Association was pursued, though not yet accomplished. Its first purpose would have been promotion of all sports, in order to acquire tangible public support in such forms as adequate grounds. If it was limited in the matter of intra-urban coordination, however, organization of most sports had already transcended local competitions to support civic representative teams carrying the colours of Edmonton or Strathcona into inter-urban contests.

The Edmonton Curling Club bonspiel late in January drew more outsiders than members of the Edmonton and Strathcona curling clubs. The Edmonton and Strathcona Rifle Associations, whose members normally occupied themselves with an endless regular succession of shooting practices, combined in June and July to place well in the eighty team Canadian Military Rifle matches. The Edmonton Cricket Club had perhaps proceeded the least distance to external competition in team sports, yet games between teams of married and bachelor members on Good Friday and Arbor Day were matched by games with Wetaskiwin, Fort Saskatchewan and Red Deer teams, while Edmonton organizers tried to establish a North-West Cricket League for Alberta and Saskatchewan. Both Edmonton and Strathcona as well as Alberta College had lacrosse and football clubs with teams playing at the intermediate and senior levels, and a crack Strathcona lacrosse team which consistently overpowered its Edmonton competition was judged worthy to send on a B.C. tour promoting Strathcona. The Edmonton Football Club organized for the season in March, installing the manager of the baseball team as its president. Its major rival was its Strathcona counterpart, but both clubs planned to play "along the line as far as Lloydminster," playing teams from Mannville and Morinville and at least as far to the east as Vegreville.[8] But of the team sports, hockey and baseball organization illustrated the trend best.

Hockey organization was not much more sophisticated than that for football or lacrosse, but the range of external challenge exhibition games was greater. For consistent local performance, representatives of high school, Alberta College, Printers' and the Edmonton Thistle and Strathcona Shamrock intermediate teams organized a city hockey league. Senior Thistle and Shamrock teams for the most part played each other before capacity crowds of about 2,000 spectators. The Thistles fittingly in this year regularly thrashed their counterparts for a trophy known as the Peterson Cup. At Christmas and New Year new C.N.R. excursions transported the teams and crushing loads of onlookers across the river to give an additional excitement to the entertainment. A Rossland, B.C. team visited to play several games; the obverse of this was a Thistle tour through Calgary, Medicine Hat, Regina, Moose Jaw, Portage la

Prairie, Brandon and Winnipeg. Although regular league play was not thought viable, frequent games before good crowds established hockey as a major recreational spectacle in early Edmonton. Games against outside teams received extensive front page newspaper coverage, stressing the identification of Edmonton readers with their representative team, even as players began to be imported from as far afield as Quebec.[9]

Baseball was the most vigorously promoted and businesslike spectator sport, drawing 1,200 and more to "witness the tragedy" of one loss after another to the major Calgary rival. In a tournament which took place during the Edmonton fair, the potential for the game in Edmonton was demonstrated by the attendance of 1,500 at a final game in which the Edmonton team did not play. A game against a team from Anacortes, Washington drew a similar crowd. During the spring campaign to form and fund an athletic association to promote and secure facilities for summer sports, the Bulletin remarked, "If there is anything that brings into prominence a town or city it is a victorious lacrosse, baseball or football team." As soon as it thus became a matter of finding the best to represent the city, it became necessary to transform the organization into a professional and commercial one. Shareholders were quickly found for an athletic company which was first and foremost a baseball club (Hon. C. W. Cross honorary president). American players were imported. Bleachers were installed, grounds improved and tickets sold at the baseball diamond. Bitter complaints were registered when paid players committed multitudes of errors. New players were brought in to replace them. After the 1906 meeting Edmonton promoters journeyed to other centres to draw them into a Western Canada league which applied for and received the sanction of the American coordinating board for professional baseball leagues.[10]

As for theatrical entertainment, but not quite at the same pace, the organization of Edmonton sports entertainment was becoming a specialized international service for passive consumers on a mass scale. Challenge matches mixing local and touring participants in boxing and wrestling exerted a similar appeal, presumably with the added attraction of laying bets on the outcome. The ultimate gambling sport, horse racing, was the most popular feature of the Edmonton fair, at which 104 stalls accommodated 200 horses from all over North America. In the fall, Edmonton's first "Driving Club" prepared to campaign for funds to build a sophisticated racing speedway.[11]

Sports contests and theatrical entertainment displayed the crowd formation of Edmonton behaviour as nothing else could. Here was not independent, let alone unique, initiative: here was transplantation of urban forms into a new setting, the reproduction of an organism.

To put it another way, there was no doubt that Edmonton was a city, as its promoters so devoutly wished to ensure. Its lack of distinction from other cities, the collective behaviour of its humanity, its commitment to community, all betrayed its urbanity. The individuals and the groups within the city who organized themselves to provide certain collective services simultaneously committed themselves to the form of total urban community which would permit only limited modification.

Independent behaviour had been sacrificed in many fields; in taking the collective approach citizens made the city the unit governing much of their individual conduct: not only in their work, but also in their accommodation with all its utilities, in provision of health care and education, even in their voluntary associations and in their entertainment. Between citizen and city, which now served which?

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 6, 12, July 2, 1906; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 6, 15, 18, February 1, 9, 10, 16, 19, March 8, 10, 30, April 18, 23-25, May 3, June 22, November 6, 19, 27, 30, December 6, 7, 31, 1906.

2. EB, July 21, 30, August 30, 1906.

3. EB, May 25, June 30-July 6, 1906.

4. James Sheremeta, "A Survey of Professional Entertainment and Theatre in Edmonton, Alberta Before 1914" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970), 80-82, 97-103; EB, May 9, October 8-13, December 26, 1906; EJ, May 9, 1906.

5. Sheremeta, "A Survey of Professional Entertainment," 70-74, 86-88, 112, 142-143; EB, April 2-9, June 19-28, July 21, 27, August 11, 24, October 8-13, November 5, 10, 15, 30, December 31, 1906.

6. EB, June 21, 26, November 6, 9, 12, 13, 1906; John Orrell, "Edmonton Theatres of Alexander W. Cameron," Alberta History, vol. 26, no. 2 (Spring, 1978), 1-4.

7. EJ, January 28, 1906; EB, January 12, 15, 20, 25, February 12, 15, 16, 27, March 14, April 17, 18, July 3, September 22, December 21, 24, 27, 1906.

8. EB, January 2, 22, March 9, 13, 27, 31, April 2, 4, 5, 10, 25, May 5, 10, 12, 25, June 12, 27-29, July 3, 13, August 20, 25, 27, September 1, 4, 5, October 11, 19, 1906.

9. EJ, January 2, 1906; EB, January 2, 3, 19, 30-February 2, 7, 14-17,27, March 5-9, 13, 14, 24, November 5, 7, 13, 15, 20, December 26, 27, 1906.

10. EB, April 6, 9, 20, 23, May 24, June 13, 16, 26-29, July 5-7, August 4, 27, September 1, 8, 11, 12, October 11, November 5, 27, December 15, 26, 1906.

11. EB, June 26-July 6, August 24-27, September 1, 4, 25, October 2, 19, 1906.

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

THE DEVELOPMENT OF URBAN COMMUNITY IN PRAIRIE CANADA: EDMONTON, 1898-1921

VOLUME TWO

by

Ⓒ CARL FREDERICK BETKE

A THESIS

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DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1981

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SECTION III: EDMONTON IN 1913

Chapter 13: The People.

The city census in the spring of 1913 claimed 67,243 residents for Edmonton, 14,158 of them on the south side (amalgamated with Edmonton February 1, 1912). This was more than double the population recorded for Edmonton and Strathcona by the federal census of 1911, although the stupendous rate of growth had slowed somewhat by 1913 from what had taken place in 1911 and 1912. The heaviest population concentration was in the long-established east side, now extended northward to include the fairly new district of Norwood. Next in density was the near west end south of the Canadian Northern tracks, south to the river banks. (See map on page 277.) The pattern evident in 1906 was consolidated, that is to say, with separate new districts on the north side of the distant east and distant west, as well as pockets of settlement around the northern fringe of the Hudson's Bay Company reserve only gradually filling in. On the south side the central area down to the river banks was gradually extending outward semi-circularly, with outlying subdivisions as yet boasting only limited population.[1]

Though federal census information for 1911 can prove nothing for a 1913 population which had already more than doubled, the general persistence of the patterns of 1906 through the much larger proportions of 1911 may allow the speculation, at least, bolstered by the imperfect evidence of a city directory, that these trends continued until the war. Thus, one might guess that nearly three-quarters of the people

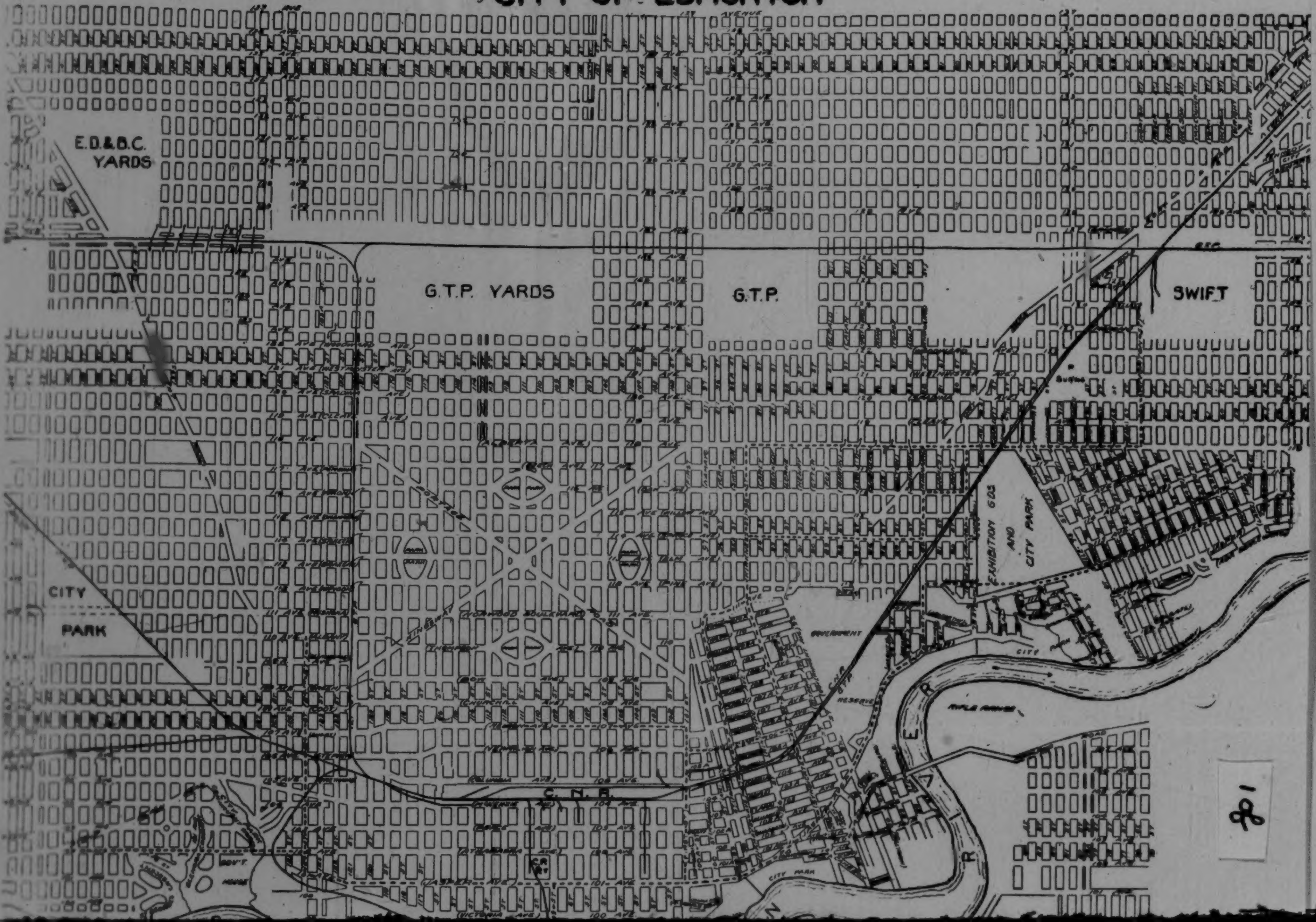
Map II

Source: Edmonton City Archives: Edmonton Official Gazette, vol. 1. 1914.

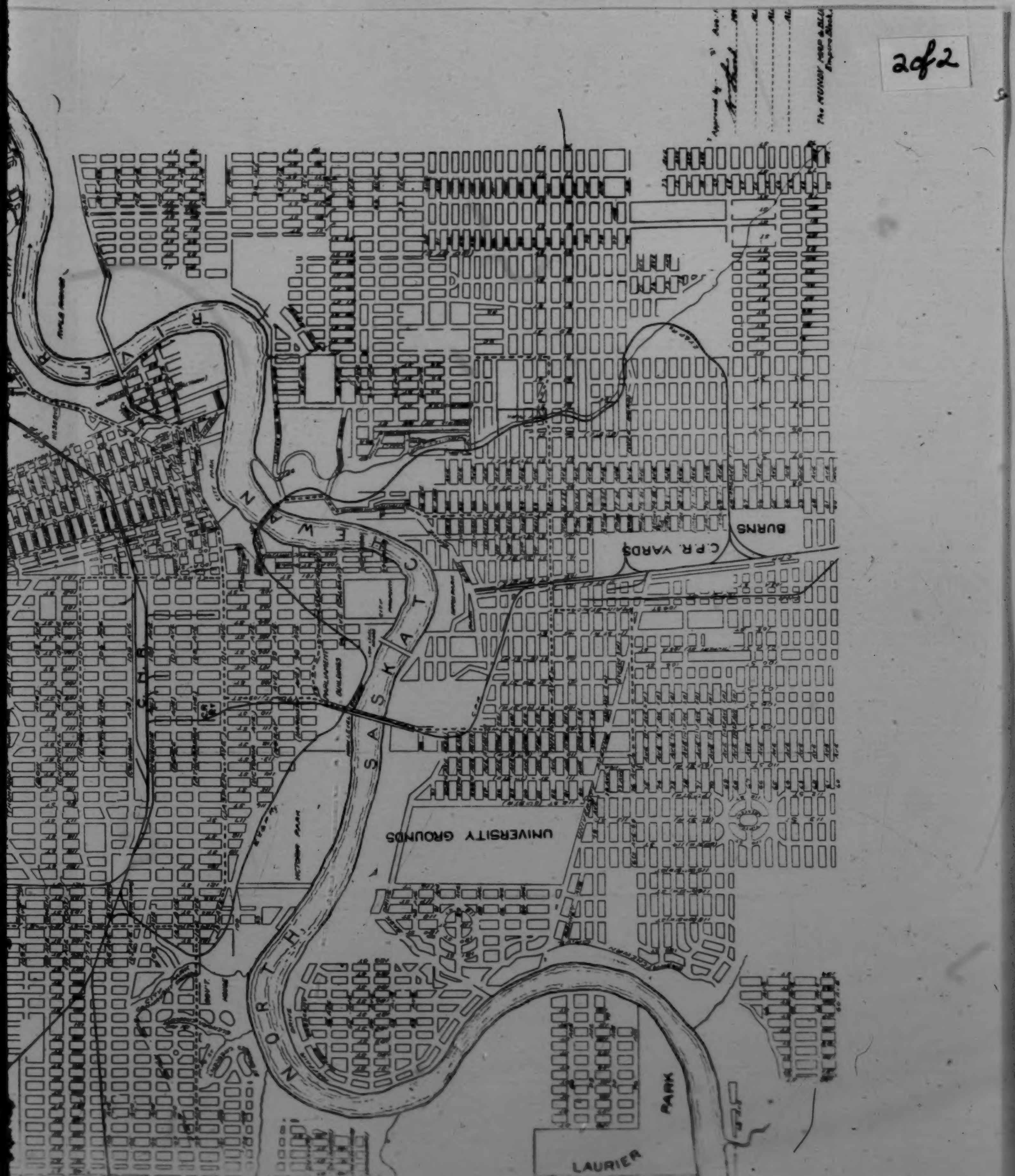
1913

OFFICIAL STREET NUMBERING SCHEME

CITY OF EDMONTON


E.D.&B.C. YARDS
G.T.P. YARDS
G.T.P.
SWIFT
EXHIBITION GDS AND CITY PARK
CITY PARK
GOVERNMENT
RESERVE
RIFLE RANGE
C.N.R.
GOV'T HOUSE
CITY PARK
JASPER AVE
VICTORIA AVE
1 of

2of2

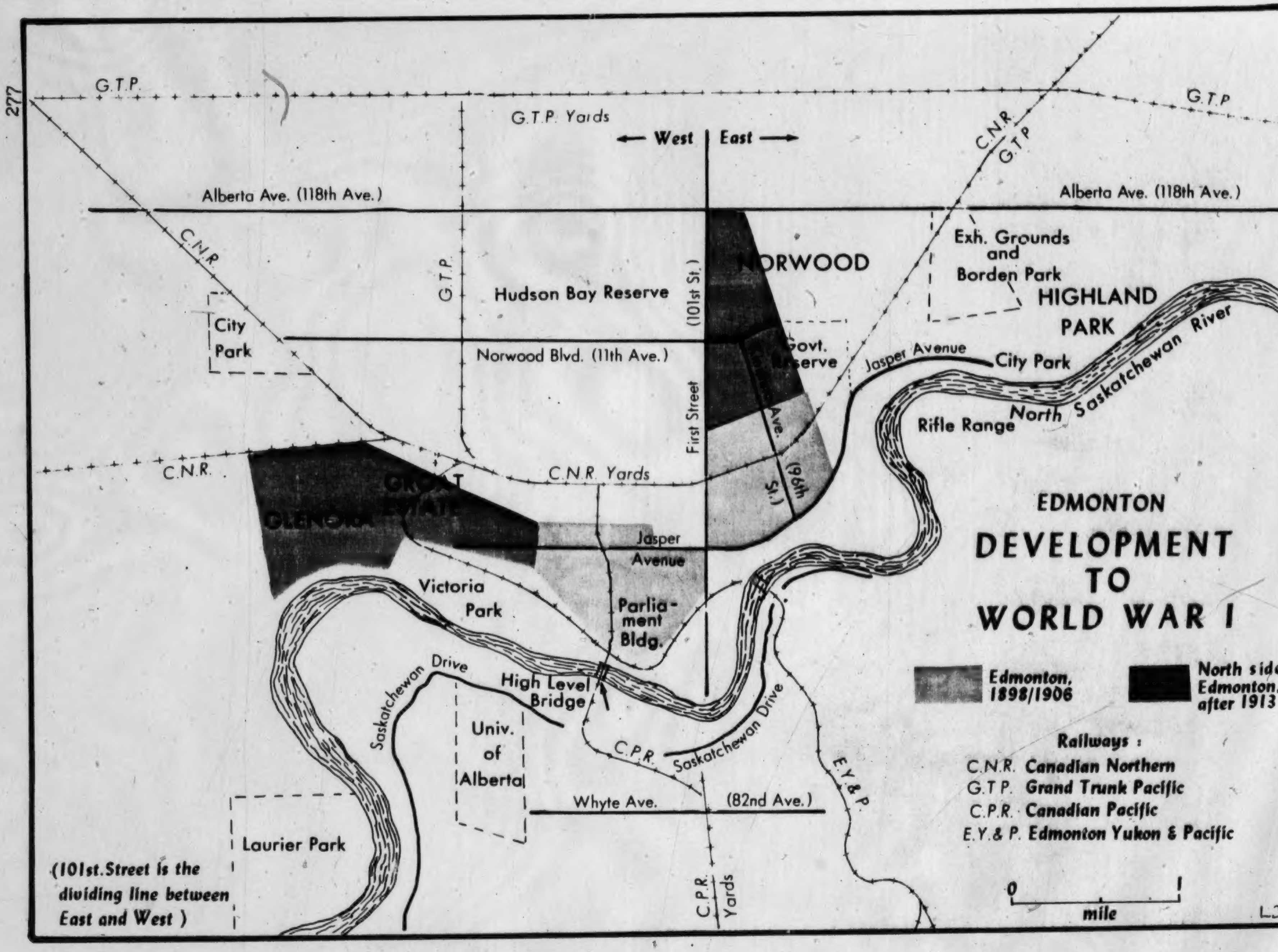

NORTH SASKATCHEWAN
RIVER
C.N.R.
PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS
VICTORIA PARK
UNIVERSITY GROUNDS
C.P.R. YARDS
BURNS
LAURIER
PARK

of Edmonton in 1913 continued to be of British stock in terms of ethnic origin, with a preponderance among them of the English, then Scottish and Irish in declining order. The number of residents of German descent had surpassed the French by 1911; each of these probably still constituted much less than 10 percent of the whole by 1913. Descendants of the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian empire, chief among them Ruthenians, followed equally by German speaking Austrians and Galicians, probably formed less than five percent of the whole population. Among them, the Ukrainians as a whole (Ruthenians, Galicians, Bukovinians) might have constituted three percent of Edmonton's total population if the trends of 1906 and 1911 continued, which would mean an estimate of about 2,000. Scandinavians might have numbered some 1,200 and all others each fewer than 600, with the Dutch, Blacks, Russians, Poles Jews and Chinese the most notable categories.[2]

Similarly, the national origins remained roughly the same for the Edmonton and Strathcona populations of 1906 and 1911. Canadians, and particularly Ontarions, predominated; those from other British and American locations came next with approximately one-quarter and one-eighth respectively of the total. The remainder, save the Chinese, came mainly from sundry European locations.[3] Given these ethnic and national origins, it is not surprising that 80 percent of the 1911 population continued to claim affiliation with the Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist and Catholic churches in that order of numerical strength. At some distance, still, were Baptists and then Lutherans. "Greek Church" adherents (two percent) made up the only other element of greater than one percent, although of course the number of other fragment groups made the rest significant in total. The leading seven groups were each present in sufficient number themselves to maintain a quite noticeable diversity for the city, even if the leading five were the commonly notable denominations of eastern Canada. Lists of churches for the city categorized by denomination in the church pages of the 1913 newspapers confirm the general impression that the trend recorded for 1911 continued.[4]

Occupationally, a predictable skew in favour of immigrants, and especially alien (non-British) immigrants, was present in both 1911 and 1913 in the ranks of those employed as common "labourers" or domestic servants or in smaller categories of other menial work. As in 1906 for a far smaller population, the overwhelming majority of these lived in the east end of the city, now extended quite far northward into and past the district of Norwood and Alberta Avenue. A smaller group concentrated in the south-east, on the other side of the river. The west end on both sides of the river still contained the major proportion of professionals, senior government officials and major businessmen, although on the north side the west end stretched out many more streets to the new subdivisions of Groat Estate and Glenora, and a few occupied mansions far to the east beyond the ethnic and working class district, in the Highlands area.[5] (See map on page 277.)

The daughter of one-time Mayor Charles May, with the help of two daughters of Rev. Dr. D. G. McQueen, has recorded something of the milieu of west end Edmonton as it was perceived



EDMONTON DEVELOPMENT TO WORLD WAR I

G.T.P.
G.T.P. Yards
← West
East →
G.T.P
C.N.R.
G.T.P
Alberta Ave. (118th Ave.)
Alberta Ave. (118th Ave.)
C.N.R.
G.T.P.
Hudson Bay Reserve
(101st St.)
NORWOOD
Exh. Grounds
and
Borden Park
HIGHLAND
PARK
City
Park
Norwood Blvd. (11th Ave.)
Govt.
Reserve
Jasper Avenue
City Park
North Saskatchewan River
First Street
Ave.
(96th
St.)
Rifle Range
C.N.R.
C.N.R. Yards
GROAT
ESTATE
GLENORA
Jasper
Avenue
Victoria
Park
Parlia-
ment
Bldg.
Saskatchewan Drive
High Level
Bridge
Saskatchewan Drive
Univ.
of
Alberta
C.P.R.
E.Y.& P.
Whyte Ave.
(82nd Ave.)
Laurier Park
C.P.R.
Yards
(101st. Street is the
dividing line between
East and West)
Edmonton,
1898/1906
North side
Edmonton,
after 1913
Railways :
C.N.R. Canadian Northern
G.T.P. Grand Trunk Pacific
C.P.R. Canadian Pacific
E.Y.& P. Edmonton Yukon & Pacific
0
mile
1
LJW

by young children before the Great War. They recall incidents which illustrate the sense of community which existed in that neighbourhood: group sleighing excursions and skating on an outdoor rink in winter; summer picnics at Groat Estate to the west or St. Albert to the north-west; drives in "surreys". Several of the relationships progressed to weddings in later years. The formal arrangements for "calling" and "receiving" required extensive cooperation among the ladies; elaborate "pink teas" made for special occasions. They recall the Westward Ho! school for boys on the one hand, and a home for Ruthenian girls on the other. The May household engaged the work of a Galician servant girl, whose own family and home made an indelible impression of cultural difference on Charles May's little daughter when she once visited them. The distinctions were pretty clearly indicated as well in their attitudes at the time to hospitals: in that west end neighbourhood people were evidently born at home, treated by medical doctors and nursed through illnesses at home, and died at home, not in hospitals, unless they were special, far-distant institutions like the Mayo Clinic.[6] The personal reminiscences confirm the impression that residential location corresponded to social status in the west end.

The east end on the north side must have seemed, to those who did not live there, to teem with a multitude of ethnically various populations. It was not that all of Edmonton's "foreigners" necessarily lived there, but that it was an area of obvious concentration of ethnically alien institutions. German Lutheran, German Baptist, Ukrainian Greek

Catholic, Ruthenian Presbyterian, Polish Catholic and Scandinavian Lutheran churches were clustered especially around Kinistino Avenue, although some were also situated in the southeast. At the same time, reports of "foreigners" violating the Lord's Day Act were identified with the east end, and middle class reactions to Blacks and Chinese immigrants were understood to be east end references. Poised on the downtown edge of this area was Mike's News Stand, its proprietor proud to serve the cosmopolitan population newspapers in seventeen languages, beyond those from several English language locations. He was willing and able to obtain newspapers from other places too, besides those he kept on hand from Canadian, English, Irish, Scottish, Welsh, American, French, German, Dutch, Jewish, Italian, Greek, Russian, Polish, Roumanian, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Serbian, Croation, Ruthenian and Austrian sources.[7]

A notable exception to the east end concentration was still the French speaking population, even though some degree of dispersal is suggested by the selection of the east-end church of the Immaculate Conception as a French language parish in 1913. Many of these people were prominent professionals (especially doctors and lawyers) or businessmen (especially hoteliers or grocery and general merchandise retailers) who felt perfectly at ease in the English-speaking polite society of Edmonton. The 300 guests at a coming-out party for Blanche Gariepy included the wives of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Premier, Attorney-General Cross and several other leading citizens of English-language background. The reverse often happened as well: Catholic women's church organizations and functions such as bazaars and picnics, and the men's Knights of Columbus organization, mingled French and English speaking citizens. Politically they fitted smoothly into the two federal parties. H. Milton Martin was president of the Edmonton Liberal Association when he was reported just before the provincial election in 1913 to be guaranteeing the French speaking citizens their choice of a provincial cabinet position in the Liberal government if they voted properly. Though the Liberals continued supreme, more Conservative support than usual appeared after Borden's victory in the 1911 federal election. Le Club Conservateur Canadien-Francais had business and professional support.[8]

Along with the French Catholic clergy, these businessmen recognized that French Canadians were not coming to Edmonton or the west in the same proportion as those of other origins. Personal visits to Quebec, special newspaper editions and payments to eastern churchmen were all intended to increase French language immigration to the west. Late in 1912 la Bureau de la Colonisation de l'Alberta sold shares and began to press for French language rights in government installations such as railway ticket offices. Even when the offices of this Bureau were taken over in 1913 by la Societe du Parler Francais, a priest was appointed to work full time as l'Organisateur de la Colonisation.[9] If that effort to swell the ranks was doomed to be curtailed by the first World War, there was more success in maintaining voice and influence in the educational institutions, including the Separate School Board.

A Jesuit College which opened in Edmonton in the fall of 1913 received pupils mainly of French background. Its construction had been financed largely by contributions of leading French Canadians like Joseph Picard and J. H. Gariepy.[10]

It might be argued that a bilingual education at the Jesuit College was not single-mindedly devoted to the preservation of French culture, but on the other hand there were strong indications of an energetic French impulse in other developments. Le Courrier de l'Ouest would continue publication until 1916. In 1910 and 1913, two large Roman Catholic parishes, including the original St. Joachim's, were each divided in two, the originals to become entirely French parishes, the new ones to serve English speaking populations. Of course this was also a sign that the French proportion in Edmonton Catholicism was declining, but for the time being it was maintaining its own demarcation in the city.[11]

The French visibility in the city was strengthened in several ways by the cultural needs of Franco-Albertans outside the city. Le cercle Grandin, formed by students at the Jesuit College in 1913 to promote the study of French language; or the dramatic association, le cercle "Jeanne d'Arc", the first production of which appeared the same year, both combined local participation with outside attention to their contributions. But several French-language benevolent societies providing insurance and loans were obviously merely headquartered in Edmonton; they were to serve the surrounding district. The Saint Jean Baptiste Society of Edmonton had always maintained close relations with nearby French communities; before the war it initiated efforts not only to federate all the French language societies of Edmonton, but also to promote a provincial French Canadian congress. This purpose was largely accomplished by another new organization, la Societe du Parler Francais, which in 1911 brought to Edmonton the national objectives of promoting French-language interests outside Quebec. The enthusiasm for their annual conventions threatened to eclipse Saint Jean Baptiste day celebrations: in June, 1913 some 800 delegates, many from outside Edmonton, were attracted to hear Henri Bourassa give the keynote address. In the same year the society made arrangements to promote French and Catholic colonization of northern Alberta.[12]

That Edmonton as the cultural centre of the French in Alberta enhanced the prominence of the French in Edmonton is an observation strengthened by the presence of French business establishments and especially by evidence that Edmonton was the source of several French language political candidates for outlying areas. Of the five French language representatives elected to the Alberta legislature in April, 1913, three called Edmonton home (P. E. Lessard, Wilfrid Gariepy and Jean-Leon Cote) and all five had interests in Edmonton. One of them, Wilfrid Gariepy, was before the end of the year appointed Minister of Municipal Affairs, thus fulfilling H. Milton Martin's promise.[13] In Edmonton, then, resided the French speaking elite of the province; there they were perfectly at home in the English Canadian milieu.

There were by 1913 signs that a similar pattern was beginning to develop for the Ukrainians of Edmonton and Alberta.

Edmonton based Paul Rudyk contested the 1913 provincial election in Whitford constituency against Andrew Shandro, who had received some of his education at Edmonton's Alberta College. That campaign, originally won by Shandro, then unsuccessfully contested by Rudyk, displayed something of the fundamental division disrupting Ukrainian organization in Edmonton before World War I. Rudyk was Ruthenian in background, a supporter of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic parish and institutions. Shandro was from the Bukovinian province, and Greek Orthodox. The only Orthodox priests and churches available in Edmonton and Alberta were Russian Orthodox; by 1913 a nationalist animosity for Russians and "Russophiles" divided Ukrainian against Ukrainian because of the inadvertent identification of Orthodox churchgoers with Russian clergymen. Certain language differences among Ukrainians from different European provinces maintained the distinctions. When a Ukrainian education specialist, Dr. Semen Demydchuk, visited Canadian Ukrainian centres in the second half of 1912, he brought the burning cultural nationalist mission of the Ukrainian schools campaign in the old country before the western Canadian emigrants. Collecting funds for the old country fight, Demydchuk collected over $5,000 in Edmonton alone, a good deal of it from Paul Rudyk. His visit also stimulated the unsuccessful agitation by Ukrainians between 1913 and 1916 to have Manitoba-trained Ukrainian teachers accepted by the Alberta government in order to initiate a Ukrainian school system in Alberta. The Russian-Ukrainian denominational division provided the Alberta government with an excuse to put off the question. Altogether, these issues brought the divisions among Ukrainians to the fore: resolution of some of them would only occur later during the war years.[14]

The notable Ukrainian institutions which developed in Edmonton partly for the benefit of outsiders were therefore divided, along Orthodox or Greek Catholic lines initially, but with heavy Ukrainian-Russian political overtones by 1913. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic cultural centre, or "Chytalnia", had continued to develop in close association with St. Josaphat parish. It was marked by its own building next to the church and had founded a benevolent association. Dramatic and musical (including band) concerts were used to raise funds for future building projects. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic institutions of Edmonton were also closely associated with the Canadian Ukrainian National Association, the organizing convention of which took place in Edmonton in 1909. Partly intended to pressure the government for Ukrainian schools, this organization also promoted Ukrainian political organization to contest provincial elections and a "National Bursa" for higher (especially teachers') education in Edmonton.[15]

The political leadership which developed from this in Edmonton was different from that in Winnipeg. The attempts after 1910 to organize a Federation of Ukrainian Socialist Democrats of Canada drove apart the committed socialists, centred in Winnipeg, from the "moderate elements" typified by Edmonton's Roman Kremar. The result was actually separate organizations, a further splintering of Ukrainian nationalists, made obvious by the publication of separate newspapers. By

1913 the Novyny (News) in Edmonton was edited by Kremar; in Winnipeg the Robochy Narod (Working People) was published. The Novyny emphasized "the worth of Canadian Ukrainian culture,... national unity, and ... full participation in the development of Canada through political action," ignoring international socialism. It was published in the rear of Michael and Dmytro Ferbey's Ukrainian Book Store on east end Kinistino avenue. The financing was assisted greatly by Kremar's personal investments in and association with the Great Athabasca Land Company. Not only the local cultural emphasis but also the stress on individual effort to adjust to the new land was illustrated by Kremar's March, 1913 announcement of prizes for stories, research and essays on Canadian Ukrainian experiences. "The principal characters of the story," he instructed, "must be strong, healthy and energetic, who do not whine and grumble at their fate but on the contrary, who grit their teeth, redouble their determination and forge ahead." He continually advocated Ukrainian schools, using, against the objections of Education Minister Boyle (that the effect would be to stimulate a Ukrainian rather than a Canadian culture), a definite multi-cultural argument in favour of equal rights for peoples of diverse backgrounds.[16]

The "Russophile" press which was, according to a Ukrainian scholar, Czarist and imperial in its approach to Ukrainian national aspirations, took an opposing stance in relation to Kremar's organ. The 1913 successor to a series of newspapers published in Edmonton after 1909 was the weekly Russkiy Holos (Russian Voice), organ of the Russian Publishing Company chaired by prosperous merchant Wasyl Cherniak. Despite the support of Ukrainians with names like Sheremeta, Shevchuk and Fiarchuk, the newspaper has been described as "Ukrainophobe", its headlines clearly hostile to Ukrainian nationalism and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic presence in Canada. It was printed in both Russian and Ukrainian. That one of the supporters was said to be the "Slavic organizer of the Liberal Party in Western Canada" was alleged to result in moral and financial sustenance from the Liberal government. Closely connected with the newspaper was a "Russophile" school in Edmonton.[17]

Despite the divisions, or perhaps because of them, Ukrainians were quite noticeable in the city by 1913. On the one hand several were succeeding with small mercantile and real estate operations.[18] On the other hand both of the divergent traditions were judged alien enough to provoke an assimilative effort, as we shall see, among a number of native Canadian groups. There is less evidence of nativist hostility to the other major ethnic group, the Germans of diverse origin, or to the Scandinavians. German Lutheran and Baptist churches flourished on both sides of the river. The German Edelweiss Club had grown large enough in 1912 to move its meeting place into regular club rooms, and a new German club was established on the south side. Both Norwegian and Swedish Lutheran churches announced the Scandinavian presence, but otherwise these groups provoked little special notice, or else were submerged in references to the general alien quality of the east end.[19] Since the Germans in particular came from a considerable assortment of places, it is difficult to believe some internal frictions did not exist, but evidence about that is hard to find. On the other hand, their apparent adjustability to the city made accommodation within smaller German communities less important.

Other groups were all much smaller. Among the best organized was the Jewish community. The Edmonton Hebrew Association had firmly established a number of traditional institutions. The Talmud Torah school could support a full time teacher by 1913. Beth Israel congregation's financial and organizational pillars, William Diamond, Abraham Cristall and A. H. Goldberg, had directed the construction of a synagogue in 1912. A local lodge of the B'nai Brith was founded in 1913. Still, the Association membership was not large, probably not numbering 100 adults by 1913, a situation causing Cristall to desert Edmonton for Los Angeles for two years in search of eligible Jewish bachelors for his daughters. The Association's Rabbi, Hyman Goldstick, found his charges an estranged and uncommunicating lot in 1907; he resolved to take the ameliorative approach that so small a group could only make a start if the traditional distinction between Reformed and Orthodox practices was temporarily ignored. All Jewish Edmontonians were invited to his services, although there was provision in the Association charter for several congregations eventually to arise. The presence of the community, despite occasional bickering, was clearly important to immigrants from eastern Europe like the Roumanian Ben Leibowitz, who came to Edmonton after a few years in Calgary specifically with the determination to make his living from a second-hand store, and whose wife had even less Canadian experience than he. Thus the Jewish institutions provided assimilative nudges both by breaking down traditional inter-Jewish animosities and by easing the immigrant's adjustment to the new world.[20]

A renegade who may have had nothing to do with this community was Morris (Moishe) Abraham Cohen, born in east end London of immigrant Polish Jews, his adolescent experience full of shady adventure which he carried on regularly (by his own account) in western Canada after 1905. The significance of his story is not that he made any impact on the Jewish community, but rather that his gunslinging and gambling propensities brought him into favourable contact with the Saskatoon Chinese community, where he claimed to have exchanged protection services for financing of his card games. From his new friends he learned about the Chinese revolutionary movement of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and claimed even to have been initiated into the local "Tong" pledged to overthrow the Manchu dynasty.

When he moved to Edmonton about 1909 (again, by his own account), he became a real estate salesman. His Chinese contacts and reputation made him a favourite consultant (and beneficiary) in their real estate transactions. More important, he became immersed in the Chinese revolutionary movement because of his meagre background of military experience in England, training a Chinese corps in Edmonton of some 450 - "nearly every young Chinese man in the town." While much of "Two-Gun" Cohen's story is fancifully embellished and a little vague about precise dates and numbers, it does provide colour for more sober reports by Chinese veterans that the Kuomintang was indeed organized in Edmonton at least by 1913 (Cohen claimed it was an underground organization before 1912), pledged to Chinese liberty and unity.[21] Not only were the Chinese forced by racial discrimination to provide their own entertainment, but their cultural isolation made them more interested in the traditions and political enthusiams of the old country. The link between culture and politics was neatly made by the Chinese Dramatic Club, which in the years before World War I provided Chinese opera and music partly "to raise funds for the Kuomintang army."[22]

Though his own role in assistance of the Edmonton Chinese may be grossly exaggerated, Cohen's stories about the community before the Great War point out vividly the difficulties they experienced, caught between managers who saw them as cheap labour and labour unions which excluded them. They show that the Chinese vote at election time might go solidly for Joe Clarke or C. W. Cross (Liberal), or it might go to A. F. Ewing (Conservative), depending on the good works received from either side.[23] They emphasize how visibly separate they were. "A huge crowd collected, almost blocking the thoroughfare," on one of the repeated occasions on which "a gambling den in the very heart of Chinatown" (east end, close to Jasper Avenue) was raided in search of players indulging in "fan tan and stud-poker." A report of an "alleged opium joint" created similar interest. A male population, immigrants originally motivated by the desire to accumulate wealth and return to China, the Chinese found little opportunity to do so in the already stereotyped roles of cooks, laundrymen and grocers.[24]

The extent of the separation that was true for the Chinese, and to a decreasing extent for the Ukrainians, may also have been true for the much smaller populations of Blacks, hived off into participation in Shiloh "Coloured" Baptist church; or Greeks and Italians just beginning to trickle into the city and meeting under the auspices of the Greek Canadian or Venice clubs; or Poles who congregated at east end Holy Rosary Church. Not all were as comfortable as the Dutch, whose invitations on the occasion of a Dutch national celebration went out not only to American Dutch speakers and the local Dutch Reformed clergyman, but also to the veteran Presbyterian, Dr. McQueen. An articulate immigrant from India complained of restaurant refusal of service, and was met by a newspaper editorial which magnified the issue into a question of the "duty of Canada" to its "self-preservation" in the face of the threatening "Conquest of Canada by India by a policy of 'peaceful penetration'" by the vast Indian population.[25]

Poor living conditions and "foreigners" were identified with the east end by the relatively comfortable of Anglo-Saxon birth, although shack and tent towns along a hillside and along a creek elsewhere also provoked comment. A visitor from Winnipeg, J. S. Woodsworth, at the time Secretary of the Canadian Welfare League, made an explicit report to leading Edmontonians of the worst conditions. After an east end survey,

> ...in one house, ten by twelve by nine, he had found eight people sleeping, where by laws of sanitation there should have been three. In another, nine by eighteen by eight, there were nine. In a place seventeen by twenty-one, there were twenty-nine. In the

> basement of a house there were eighteen sleeping, each man paying $3 a month for the privilege. In a shack, ten by twelve by six, a mother, a son, a girl of eighteen and a man of twenty-one were sleeping all in one bed.
>
> In a rooming house in a loft, twenty-four by sixty by ten, ...42 slept. Below was an ice-cream parlor and a restaurant. The rental obtained from that building was $355 per month. Surely with such returns for such accommodation, it should be possible to have decent places of abode erected and the investment made a profitable one.

But the civic medical health officer's analysis may have been closer to the generally accepted one. He attributed "the grossest condition of overcrowding" in the east end, and the "menace to the health and morals of the community" which they represented, not to the landlords' rental policies, but to the "inclination" of the "foreigners" to create for themselves "the same conditions they have become habituated to ...in the countries from which they came."[26]

That the immigrants, particularly the alien immigrants, comprised a relatively small portion of the population was obviously not a true measure of their significance to the urban community in 1913. The proportion actually associated with sub-par housing would have been even smaller; but to the majority, "foreigners" were collectively associated with urban poverty. They were, that is to say, a preoccupation of the well-to-do, providing two significant reminders of the shortcomings of urban integration: squalor and strange ways of life. As we shall see in a later section, considerable collective effort was devoted to "solving" these problems. The extremities in the accommodations of two minorities of Edmontonians defined a considerable range; there were not only shacks on the one hand and mansions on the other, but a majority in between. With both ends of the spectrum most Edmontonians undoubtedly did not associate themselves, except perhaps in their ambitions and fears. Nevertheless, that most professionals, bank managers and businessmen lived in the west end (more pronouncedly on the north side of the river than on the south) and that most "labourers", domestic servants and cooks were in the east end was a visual declaration of differences in means and station.[27]

For the anticipated boom year 1913 a number of biographical directories purported to introduce the important men of the city. The result is a sample of well over three hundred men for which various sorts of information are available in greater or lesser proportion. As might well be expected in a city of booming immigration, the continuing influx of newcomers kept the average age of the group rather young, at forty-one, and the average experience in Edmonton itself rather short, at not quite ten years. But even this picture is a little deceptive, since nearly half the "elite" described arrived as far younger men after 1906 and had a combined average residence in Edmonton of just two and one-half years by 1913. By contrast, the other veterans had been in the city an average of sixteen years. Both the sizeable proportion of newcomers and the number of young men among them were no doubt closely related to the very high immigration rate to the city in 1911, 1912 and 1913.[28]

Taken as a whole, nearly three-quarters of the biographical subjects were still Canadian born; indeed more than half were born in Ontario. The tide of Canadian migration had, however, diminished slightly since 1906, and for the first time British newcomers between 1906 and 1913 had totalled one-quarter of the sample. Not only had they been born in Great Britain (especially England and Scotland in that order), but they had also grown up there. Far more than usual among those who arrived after 1906 were born in the United States: well over one-tenth. The Canadian proportion among those arriving after 1906 dropped below two-thirds; the Ontario proportion below one-half, both in terms of birthplace and location of childhood residence. Information on nativity available for barely two-thirds of their parents supports the notion of a trend to growing (yet still minor) interest on the part of Americans. For about two-thirds of the sample, information about their wives' origins shows an even more pronounced shift among the newcomers since 1906 to those of British and American backgrounds, even though overall they were still two-thirds Canadian stock, the largest proportion of them from Ontario and the next largest from western Canada.[29]

For about three-quarters of the whole sample, information about religious denominational affiliation demonstrates that perhaps one-tenth of the newcomers since 1906 were Baptists, widening the range of significantly represented churches to include five by 1913. Nearly 40 percent of the whole sample were still Presbyterians, a little better than one-quarter were Anglicans, almost a fifth Methodists, fewer than one-tenth Roman Catholics, and the Baptists comprised six percent - always bearing in mind that for one-quarter of the biographees no information was given about denominational adherence.[30]

Diverse information about the formative years of these men can be gleaned for various proportions of them. For example, for fewer than 60 percent can anything be said of their fathers' occupations. In this respect not much had changed: some 70 percent were still farmers or mainly small-scale businessmen, but few with real wealth or superior standing in their communities. Professionals, government employees, tradesmen and clerks made up a collective minority, although for the first time a handful could be described as labourers. Their sons (and here the proportion for which some kind of information is available approaches 80 percent) grew up for the most part in rural or village settings, although for the sizeable group arriving in Edmonton after 1906, nearly half had grown up in towns or cities. The proportion of urban backgrounds among new arrivals increased with the passage of time, probably according to the rate of urbanization in central Canada: in any case, at this level obviously not only rural depopulation was involved.[31] The educations they brought with them were also steadily more impressive, so that nearly two-thirds of those coming to Edmonton after 1906 had gone beyond public and high school to trade, business college, university or professional programs. Within that group the tendency was much greater to have chosen university or professional schools. Half of the newcomers since 1906 had preferred that route, compared with only a third of the veterans who came before 1898. The graduates of private schools were becoming an insignificant proportion of the total.[32]

All the newcomers after 1906 had some adult experience elsewhere before arriving in Edmonton, and the patterns established by their predecessors held steady. Their youth notwithstanding, some had lived for varying periods of time in as many as three places before settling in Edmonton, though that was not the general rule. By far the largest number overall had experience in the west (45 percent) and/or Ontario (38 percent). About one-sixth had spent time in Great Britain, another one-sixth in the United States, and another one-sixth in other parts of Canada. A preponderantly Canadian adult experience continued to be brought to Edmonton, differences perhaps being defined by their ages. Very few had tested as many as three or four different occupations; nearly one-third had tried two separate prior livelihoods, but the pattern for fully half of them had been to leave their original occupations to come to Edmonton. Few - only one-eighth - came with no occupational experience whatever.[33]

Interestingly enough, few of these recognizably prominent men were manufacturers or builders (one-eighth together), although the ranks of real estate and financial agents swelled (one-sixth) as even some of the veterans shifted from other livelihoods into this lucrative field during the boom. Professionals continued to make up a third of the group. Insofar as there was a shift among recent newcomers it was away from building and manufacturing industries towards services, especially government positions (now one-eighth overall) which, of course, were also filled in many cases by professionals such as engineers, surveyors, architects and lawyers. Those in trade and commerce maintained the same small proportion (less than one-eighth) as formerly. None of this is to say that these men were not investing in or benefitting from building development; it is only to say that the contractors were not recognized to an overwhelming extent to be part of this prominent group.[34]

There were still, of course, other ways of defining an elite, and no doubt different self-styled members had various ideas about who ranked with them. Still, though the actual membership might be in doubt, the collective characteristics were reasonably constant. The total membership of the Edmonton Club (counting only those resident in Edmonton) was 346, but fewer than one-quarter of those names were also represented among those about whom biographies were written and published. In that small sample of overlap, professionals of Ontario birth and Presbyterian church attendance might be somewhat over-represented in comparison with the biographies as a whole, but otherwise there were no startling departures from the pattern established above.[35]

Turning to the social relations among their wives, a "calling register" was published in 1914 by which genteel ladies announced the regular days of each month on which they would be "at home" to each other for tea. Some 290 names were on this list, but again the overlap with the biographical selection was not large: again about one-quarter. Here too the patterns seem to hold, at least for the overlapping sample, with Ontario birthplaces (two-thirds), Presbyterian adherence (two-fifths) and professional occupations (one-half) dominating. From this list a rather better proportion of names (one-third) are also in the Edmonton Club membership, but very few (thirty-five, little better than one-tenth of each of the lists) show up in all three selections. On the other hand, each list brought together a significant number from both other categories, even though the triple coincidence was small.[36]

Though the possibility of significant differences in the groups cannot altogether be dismissed with such imperfect evidence, on two bases they can be compared almost in total: for occupations and for residential locations. In both the Edmonton Club membership and the "calling register" the predominance of professionals (especially lawyers and doctors), senior civil servants, senior bank officials, and real estate, financial and insurance brokers is even greater than among those for whom biographical information was published. The proportion of contractors, merchants of various sorts, and manufacturers is less and other groups simply not represented. The residences listed for all three groups were overwhelmingly in the north side west end, better than 80 percent for Edmonton Club members and "open house" callers, and not much less for those included in biographies. The new popular area was even further to the west beyond the 1906 limits, in the districts of Groat Estate and Glenora. (See map on page 277.) Many had moved to those locations by 1913 from their nearer west end locations of 1906. Not many more than 10 percent resided on the south side (compared with the proportion of south siders in the general population of one-quarter), and the only other pocket to show the beginning of elite concentration was far to the east, in the riverbank Highland district beyond the congested near east end.[37]

Those representatives of the somewhat contrasting elements of the Edmonton population who were most in the public eye in 1913 came from backgrounds at once both similar and varied. South side Alderman John G. Tipton, who had been prominent in the drive for amalgamation, was perhaps the least typical. He was near retirement age; he had been born and lived much of his life in Illinois; he had come to the Edmonton vicinity in 1894 from Kansas; he had left a career as lawyer and district court judge in Illinois, yet practised little law in Strathcona. In fact, before settling in Strathcona he had spent time homesteading near the city and supplying some of its coal needs. Men like Joseph Andrew Clarke, Charles Wilson Cross and W. J. Magrath, each of whom would make some effort to represent the east end, were all Ontarions in their early forties; Clarke and Cross had both been educated at the University of Toronto and Osgoode Law School. In other ways the three were somewhat different. Magrath (formerly an Ontario cheese merchant, and in Edmonton after 1904 a real estate broker) and Clarke were both relatively recent arrivals and both were sports organizers, but Clarke had experienced considerable time in the west and especially the Yukon. Cross had combined the practice of law in Edmonton since 1897 with Liberal party politics to become Alberta's Attorney General. These men were not all that different in background from west end stalwart William Short. Henri Milton Martin, on the other hand, finishing a term as Board of Trade president, was not an Ontarion, but straddled several different Edmonton groups. He was born in upstate New York, grew up and was educated in Montreal and Vancouver, and worked as a miner and increasingly as an accountant in western locations (including the Yukon) before coming to Edmonton in 1906. In Edmonton he combined a real estate and insurance business with the position of Belgian Consul; he also combined Liberal politics and Board of Trade leadership with membership in the Knights of Columbus and on the separate school board. He further extended his social relationships in Edmonton with his marriage to Beatrice Beck, daughter of Judge Nicholas D. Beck. The combined social characteristics of the individual leaders are sometimes as illuminating as any kind of statistical summary of a leadership group.[38]

If these people were still not altogether clear among themselves about the demarcation of an elite, distinctions based on occupation, residential location, education, origins and denominational adherence would be pretty obvious to those living in the east and north-east of the city, even if the separation was not quite so pronounced on the south side. This was not a homogeneous population; more important, it was not a heterogeneous mix living together in constant proximity. The justification for Edmontonians all to live in the same city was not personal appreciation of one another: the urban community was achieved in the face of certain social distances.

Footnotes

1. City census returns are recorded for each of 47 districts on the north and south sides in EJ, May 17 and 19, 1913. See also E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), Appendix IV, 556; Canada, Census, 1911, vol. I, Areas and Population (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1912), 535. The population of Edmonton and Strathcona together in 1911 was 30,479; in 1912 about 53,600.

2. Canada, Census, 1911, vol. II, Religions, Origins, Birthplace, Citizenship, Literacy and Infirmities (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1913), 166-7 and 372-3. These figures would of course be unaccountably complicated by mixed ancestries. They can be roughly confirmed by tedious counting of the more obvious ethnically homogeneous names in Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913.

3. Canada, Census, 1911, vol. II, 428-9, 447.

4. Ibid., 158-9; and see the discussion of church organizations in 1913 in Chapter 16.

5. These observations are not precise, but as generalizations are grounded securely in the evidence of Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913 (for which select occupations were counted and residential locations categorized) and are bolstered by the occupational proportions of the 1911 census return: Canada, Census, 1911, vol. VI, Occupations of the People (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1915), 376-383. The imprecision is partly a matter of guesswork as to ethnic background in the names recorded in Henderson's Directory; partly a matter of projecting 1911 census proportions to the doubled population of 1913; partly a matter of being limited in the 1911 census returns to the category of "immigrants" without differentiation as to origins. Nevertheless, the general patterns seem amply supported by the general agreement in the evidence from these sources.

6. Dorothy May King, with Christina McQueen McKnight and Jean McQueen Siemens, "Childhood Memories of Edmonton, Alberta, 1902-1911" (Typescript manuscript, 1978). This is a substantial document relating the positions in the community of many west end families and the later fortunes of many of the children.

7. Edmonton Journal (EJ), June 10, September 27, 1913; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), March 17, 29, December 6, 1913; Howard Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration: Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta, 1880-1920" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 182-5, 191.

8. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 77-91, 97-108; EB, April 10, 1913.

9. Hart, "The History," 111-114.

10. Ibid., 116-119.

11. Brenda Gainer, "The Franco-Albertans and the First World War" (Unpublished B. A. Honours Essay, University of Alberta, 1974), 11-13; Hart, "The History," 63-65.

12. Hart, "The History," 68-74.

13. Ibid., 97-102.

14. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg/Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 111-112, 290-291, 323; Joseph M. Lazarenko, The Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta (Edmonton, Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970), 42-45; J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools....1891-1921 (Edmonton, Basilian Press of Toronto Printers, 1958), 94-101, 111-112; Donald H. Avery, "Canadian Immigration Policy and the Alien Question, 1896-1919: The Anglo-Canadian Perspective" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1973), 346-347.

15. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, 169-170, 223-224.

16. Ibid., 225-226, 272-274; Lazarenko, The Ukrainian Pioneers, 232-233.

17. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, 289-291.

18. Lazarenko, The Ukrainian Pioneers, 285-289, 335.

19. Elizabeth B. Gerwin, "A Survey of the German-Speaking Population of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1938), 109-110; EB, December 5, 1913; EJ, December 30, 1913.

20. Sid Bursten, "Edmonton: A Jewish Community in Perspective," The Jewish Post (March 3, 1966), 16, 31; Taped interviews with Hyman Goldstick and Ben Leibowitz by David Nelson, May 30, June 5 and July 5, 1973: Provincial Archives of Alberta; Tony Cashman, Abraham Cristall: The Story of a Simple Man (1963), 20-21.

21. Charles Drage, Two-Gun Cohen (London, Jonathan Cape, 1954), 1-52; Ban Seng Hoe, Structural Changes of the Two Chinese Communities in Alberta, Canada (Ottawa, National Museums of Man Mercury Series, 1976), 136, 188. A well-groomed and well-dressed young man named Kwong Lee Yuen was identified by a 1913 newspaper report and photograph as a close associate of Sun Yat-sen and as a local leader of the "New Republic" party and the "Chinese Masons": Edmonton Capital (EC), January 8, 1913.

22. Ban Seng Hoe, Structural Changes, 75, 203, 318.

23. Drage, Two-Gun Cohen, 46-59; Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration," 211.

24. EB, March 17, 29, 1913; Ban Seng Hoe, Structural Changes, 74-75, 86, 318.

25. George D. Vlassis, The Greeks in Canada (Ottawa, The Author, 1953), 207; EB, September 9, 10, December 13, 1913; EJ, April 21, September 18, 27, 1913; Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration," 182-185; William B. Makowski, History and Integration of Poles in Canada (Niagara Peninsula, Canadian Polish Congress, 1967), 159, 165.

26. EJ, May 13, September 6, 1913; EB, September 17, 1913.

27. Information computed after reference to EB and EJ real estate advertisements and to Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913.

28. See Appendix I, Tables A and B.

29, Ibid., Tables, C, D, G, L.

30. Ibid., Table E.

31. Ibid., Tables F and H.

32. Ibid., Table I.

33. Ibid., Tables J and K.

34. Ibid., Table M.

35. Compilations made with the aid of the membership list in The Edmonton Club. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members (Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913), 34-47.

36. Compilations made with the aid of Mrs. K. M. Taylor, Edmonton Social Register (1914), 19-32: Edmonton City Archives.

37. These conclusions are based on compilations of addresses and occupations from Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, attached to the names on the three separate but overlapping lists.

38. Biographical summaries for these men are to be found in A. O. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta, 2 volumes (The Western Canada History Company, 1912); John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, volumes 2 and 3 (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924), and EC, October 9, 1914.

5

Chapter 14: The Economy.

Edmonton's economic prospects did not seem nearly as buoyant at the end of 1913, as at the beginning. The downturn in the traditional monthly indicators to which Edmonton businessmen paid close attention took some time to register, then to be accepted, finally to be explained. The established economic foundations of Edmonton's growth appeared steady, indeed perhaps even enhanced: excellent grain crops and livestock production coupled with continuing extension of the district's transportation network. Yet credit became "tight", real estate values ceased to soar, and in response to both of these factors urban construction faltered. There was a lesson in all this about the capacity of public municipal enterprise to affect the private enterprise of the city. In 1913 it became clear that municipal development did not simply follow private development; it also stimulated and, when of sufficient magnitude, could with its own troubles do damage to the general economy. The municipal corporation was not after all an abstraction; it was the people taking collective actions which had consequences.

The advantages of railway connections established already by 1906 were consolidated by 1913 with the completion of earlier projects and the undertaking of new ones. The Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific lines had still to be completed to Pacific outlets, but even incomplete they raised exciting prospects in combination with the anticipated opening of the Panama Canal.[1] The Grand Trunk Pacific had in 1909 decided to establish its chief divisional point between

Winnipeg and the Pacific coast at Edmonton. Its main line and marshalling yard were situated on the northern edge of the city, separated from the prohibitively expensive land of the C.N.R.'s more central route through the city by 3,000 acres of Hudson's Bay Company reserve land. (See map on page 181.) Nevertheless a private arrangement with the C.N.R. gave the G.T.P. a right-of-way into the latter's station location joined by a loop to the main G.T.P. line. Daily passenger service through Edmonton was established by the G.T.P. in 1910.[2]

In response, the Canadian Pacific construction project to extend its rails over a high level bridge to the north side finally got under way in 1910, bolstered by the aid of three levels of government. Completed in June, 1913, the bridge featured two decks, the top one carrying railway track which then extended north a few blocks to link with the Canadian Northern. Close to this connection the C.P.R. established its own sidings and freight and passenger facilities. While the C.P.R. paid for nearly half the $2,000,000 cost of the bridge, governments contributed according to their perceived stakes: the City of Edmonton about one-fifth, Strathcona just over one-twenty-fifth, the Government of Alberta nearly one-sixth and the Government of Canada just over one-tenth. As did the other rail extensions more noticeably, the new C.P.R. rail line and yards helped to shape some of the boom time urban development long before their completion.[3]

Edmontonians were willing to interpret observations of leading C.P.R. officials to mean that following the high level bridge completion, the next construction projects would open up the north. But when retiring Board of Trade President H. Milton Martin waxed enthusiastic early in the year about continuing railway extensions from Edmonton, he did not have only the three transcontinental systems in mind.[4] The Edmonton mercantile imagination was captured by the unknown resources of the north. A start would be a railway to Fort McMurray to bypass shallows and rapids obstructing river travel on the Athabasca below Athabasca Landing in order to reach the unimpeded waterway of the Mackenzie River system to the Arctic Ocean. The provincial government was already under pressure for northern railway charters when great excitement over Athabasca tar sands potential for oil extraction from 1909 to 1911 caused a brief flurry of speculation. Thus, in 1909 three pieces of railway legislation authorized northern rail construction: two with the aid of bond guarantees to Canadian Northern branches from Edmonton to the Peace River country and to Athabasca Landing, one with extremely generous guarantees to a Kansas City banker to promote the Alberta and Great Waterways Railway to Ft. McMurray.[5]

The suspicion of corruption in the A and GW arrangements led in short order to an investigation, a lawsuit, and the resignation of Premier Rutherford. Nor did the Canadian Northern, despite acquiring charters for sixteen branch lines in 1911, actually devote its energies or finances to northern spurs of its trans-Canadian project. A saviour did appear, however: Winnipeg contractor J. D. McArthur, whose experience was largely with work on most of the Grand Trunk Pacific's extensions between the Lakehead and the Rockies. By 1912

McArthur was hard at work on the Edmonton, Dunvegan and B.C. railway, slated to pass by a circuitous route below Lesser Slave Lake through the Peace River country to B.C. In 1913 McArthur acquired bond guarantees from the province to build another line, the Central Canada Railway, northward from the ED and BC to Peace River Crossing. He was, moreover, induced in the same year to take over the abortive A and GW project, which he immediately launched toward Lac La Biche to the northeast. That all this provincially-chartered activity was clearly advantageous to Edmonton was obvious to those political critics who condemned the addition of a railway centrality to Edmonton's earlier political gifts of the capital and university locations.[6]

All these rails leading to Edmonton were not enough to dispel business unease in 1913, despite the production of a bumper crop of grain in the surrounding countryside. When delegations of Edmonton businessmen went forth to survey the almost unbelievable harvest prospects late in the summer, they did so to bolster their flagging optimism, to convince themselves of the true source of their continuing good fortune. When the general manager of the Imperial Bank of Canada visited Edmonton in the fall he tried to show how that harvest would boost not only Edmonton's but all Canada's business, by enabling the repayment of debts which would with a domino effect start the circulation of millions of dollars. One result would be opportunity for the banks once again to loan more freely than had been the case earlier in 1913.[7] For credit was the chief economic concern in the city, and no groups depended more on easy credit than the city council, developers and real estate speculators.

"The existing general scarcity of money, or rather prohibitive rate of interest demanded by lenders," said C.P.R. president Sir Thomas Shaughnessy in a summer interview, "has necessarily had the effect of reverting the issue of municipal and other securities, and there has been a consequent falling off in the amount of public work that is being done."[8] Though Sir Thomas expressed confidence that the good general trade and harvest prospects would shortly overcome the temporary difficulty, his analysis would apply equally well to private developers within the city as to the municipality. Moreover, as a discussion of municipal affairs will demonstrate, strictures on municipal projects would reduce the stimulus for private development with the effect, among other things, of worsening a bad unemployment record toward the end of the year.

"Calamity howlers" predicting another financial panic were occasionally to be heard even at the beginning of the year. The common response to them was statistical reference to the growth in numbers of building permits; and in the size of bank clearings, customs collections and postal returns. The number of building permits issued by the city in 1912 was more than double that for 1911; the value in 1912 three and a half times of that for 1911. January, 1913 statistics showed a 187 percent increase over, January, 1912 figures, causing a newspaper editor to relish the anticipation of "a further slaughter of records during 1913." Not only did the advance over 1912 fail to keep up in even a small way during the first half of 1913, but calculation of permits issued does not indicate the rate at which work is actually completed. As early as February the city was noticeable for its "idle men"; though this was to a certain extent common over winter months, yet the unemployment rate in February, 1913 was greater than that for the same month in the previous year. And by the end of the year the value of permits issued in 1913 was not two-thirds of the 1912 total, despite a brief flurry of heartening enterprise in September.[9]

When the building rate took an increasingly obvious dive, Edmonton boosters could for some time point to slightly increasing bank clearings, but these also faltered in August, not to recover for the rest of the year.[10] That left customs returns and post office sales as indicators of legitimate business: the flow of trade. By the beginning of May an "abatement" in the "fever" of real estate activity was being discounted as an inaccurate guide to the "real business" of the city. That customs receipts were considerably up in May as compared with May, 1912, was therefore accepted as "an exact line on actual business, for real estate transactions can have nothing to do with them." One had, of course, to ignore the factor of ongoing population influx to make assessments like that. By the end of the year it was hard to classify even retail and wholesale trade as anything else but "dull". The city's financial men in December acknowledged the "low ebb of the recent financial depression" and professed to see a benefit in it from driving "wildcatters" out of business and renewing the confidence of foreign investors in future steady development.[11]

Some businessmen clearly thought the problem was psychological. One promoter advertised the value of "Edmontonitis", that is, "the Edmonton spirit" which was "good for all kinds of business" and which he promised to help develop on call. The manager of the Citizen's Press Bureau, purely a booster organization, also credited the "Edmonton spirit" with overcoming "every barrier set up to impede the city's progress;" it had "wiped out internal jealousies...and humanized business rivalries" to present the opportunity in Edmonton of making "millionaires of laborers and merchant princes of country store clerks." But those examples of untrammelled enthusiasm dated to the early months of the year, replaced at the end by recognition of the need to recoup.[12]

On the south side, realty, building and trade may initially have been stimulated by the high level bridge and amalgamation clauses guaranteeing immediate attention to other bridges, street paving and other civic improvements. But for the city as a whole the real estate business was noticeably quiet, reducing the prospects, for example, of more than 2,500 lots still held in the Hudson's Bay Company reserve (half the original total). Those promotional and advertising pages of the Edmonton Bulletin regularly entitled "No Better Investment in Canada than Edmonton Real Estate" hardly delivered what they promised. By April the "big men" in the market were said to be awaiting "sacrifice sales" as results of people caught with contracts on their hands in the tight money situation. A "lull in operations" was evident.[13] While it is difficult to estimate general trends from real estate advertisements because of the variety of price levels in different districts of the city and for different sizes of lots and qualities of homes, from the beginning to the end of the year it is certain that the previous price rise had been arrested. After the summer season, furthermore, advertisers were far cagier about listing full prices, particularly for houses, preferring either to keep them hidden or to announce easy terms.[14]

Finally, distress was apparent in the form of record unemployment. Ironically, what was welcomed as an omen of prosperity at the beginning of the year only made matters worse at the end: immigration. Most newcomers were expected to swell the ranks of agricultural producers, so monthly statistics on those passing through the city's immigration hall were important economic indicators in themselves. The news at one point in April that fifty Germans were in town _en route_ to the Peace River country was eagerly accompanied by the rumour that thousands of their fellow countrymen were to follow. Even at the end of the year reports of a massive German settlement project to bring first 3,000 and shortly afterwards thousands more to develop a dairy industry in sixteen central Alberta townships was exciting, though of course doomed never to get under way.[15] Within the city, new population would keep the real estate and building industries buoyant; thousands of newcomers would require hundreds of houses. Urban immigrants were fine as long as the newspapers' classified advertisements showed plenty of "situations vacant" as they did in January, but of little value - indeed a drain on the city - when they had not the employment to enable them to pay for their accommodations.

After the harvest and the winter cessation of railway construction work, hundreds of unemployed men presented an urgent civic problem; that Canadian immigration for 1913 exceeded that for any previous year contributed to its scope.[16]

For a city in which the major economic activities had during the boom years featured far more employment in the building trades than in manufacturing enterprises, it is easy to see the connection between reduced real estate development and unemployment. Building trades, domestic service, the professions, trade and merchandising, financial services, and the provincial and civic bureaucracies occupied about 80 percent of the Edmonton workforce; manufacturing perhaps 15 percent. Real estate agencies alone numbered 471 in 1913, nearly 7 times the total for 1906, and a reasonable estimate of the number of individuals involved in this work might go higher than 2,000, based on the proportions of employees to agency reported in the 1911 census returns.[17] When credit became difficult to get, when building starts declined in the private as well as in the public civic sectors, this kind of emphasis in the economy meant increasing unemployment. Small wonder civic boosters resisted acknowledgment of the trends as long as possible.

Footnotes

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1. T. D. Regehr, The Canadian Northern Railway (Toronto, Macmillan, 1976), 285-291, 318-319, 348-351; Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North 1870-1914 (Toronto/Montreal, McClelland and Stewart, 1971), 203-204; Edmonton Capital (EC), January 1, 1913; Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 1, 29, 1913.

2. Herman K-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and Its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 23-24.

3. Ibid., Figure 3 before page 20, and 26-27; EJ, January 28, May 26, June 18, 1913.

4. EJ, January 23, 29, 1913.

5. Zaslow, The Opening, 211-212; L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 58-65; James D. Williams, "A History of the Edmonton, Dunvegan and British Columbia Railway, 1907-1929" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1956), 20-23.

6. Thomas, The Liberal Party, 69-91, 137-138, 148-150; Zaslow, The Opening, 212-216; Williams, "A History," 24-38.

7. EJ, July 25, August 8, September 27, 1913; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), September 19, 1913.

8. EJ, July 24, 1913.

9. EC, January 1, 1913; EJ, February 1, 3, 5, September 17, 26, 27, 1913; E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), Appendix IV, 556; Canada, Labour Gazette, vol. 13, no. 8-12 (February-June, 1913), pages referring to Edmonton, especially 962-963 of the March edition.

10. Labour Gazette, vol. 14, no. 2-7 (July, 1913-January, 1914), Edmonton pages; EB, December 4, 6, 1913.

11. EJ, May 1, 2, June 3, 1913; EB, December 4, 1913; Labour Gazette, vol. 14, no. 7 (January, 1914), 784.

12. EJ, January 28, February 3, December 31, 1913.

13. EJ, January 3, April 23, May 7, 1913; EB for March, 1913.

14. My samples were in EJ, April 14, 28, June 3, October 18, 25, 1913.

15. EJ, April 19, May 1, December 29, 1913.

16. EJ, April 23, 1913; EC, December 31, 1913; Labour Gazette, vol. 14, no. 4-8 (October, 1913-February, 1914), sections on Edmonton, particularly January, 1914 edition, 792, and February, 1914 edition, 949.

17. Proportions of the workforce are based on conservative extensions of 1911 census returns for Edmonton, excluding Strathcona: Canada, Census, 1911, vol. III, Manufactures (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1913), 350 and vol. VI, Occupations (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1915), 376-383. Real estate listings are in Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 805-810.

Chapter 15: Formal Municipal Associations.

The month of March, 1913 brought the turning point in the enthusiastic expansionism of Edmonton's civic government. It came during consideration of a highly symbolic project: the development of a spectacular multi-block civic centre and park. Nothing could have epitomized the dream better than this monument to collective urban giddiness and optimism about the future which would have committed Edmonton's taxpayers to the guarantee of loans totalling untold millions of dollars. Its capacity to remind Edmontonians of their civic unity would have been the result of two facts: first, its visual effect, and second, years and years of debt repayment. The vision was carried to the brink of the first ratepayers' decision: whether to buy the necessary downtown land to supplement what the city already owned. Then, with devastating abruptness, it disintegrated; and the collapse was of a nature to signal a new, sober era in Edmonton's civic planning: a period of atonement for past excesses. For it was not the normal opponents to costly developers' projects who brought this plan down; it was some among the civic centre's most ardent one-time boosters. Only very grave circumstances could at the last moment have dissuaded some of the very people once most interested in civic beautification and ostentation.

The summer before, at the height of the land boom, Edmonton City Council had expressed few qualms about reserving the downtown section of land midway between east and west ends. Much of it was already owned by the city. Henceforth no land sale there was allowed to take place on the reserved property before Parks Commission scrutiny of the proposal; no construction was to take place there, nor were any streets to be closed before Parks Commission study and approval. A landscape architectural firm in Minneapolis, Morrell and Nicholls, presented an elaborate and popular plan. City commissioners were asked for a comprehensive report, which came before Council near the end of February, 1913. When that report was ready, enthusiasm was still high. Former Mayor Armstrong was one of the representatives of an Alberta "Town Planning Association" lobbying the provincial Minister of Municipal Affairs to seek a Town Planning Act on the English and New Brunswick models. It would not only regulate subdivision development, but also increase the limit of civic borrowing powers for the specific purpose of building civic centres.[1]

The commissioners' report stimulated no debate about the universally accepted principle of a civic centre: in fact a temporary building was already being provided. The point of contention, instead, was location. Though the commissioners presented three alternatives, a special committee of council, commissioners and parks commission argued the merits at length of only the two of them having adequate space: the reserved central location, or a remaining portion of the Hudson's Bay Company Reserve. The former carried an immense price tag just to purchase the minority of lots not yet owned by the city: something over $2,500,000. That prospect would soon bring an energetic objection from a ratepayer to contributing yet another immense sum "to make richer those who are already so rich," that is, the private owners of the required lots, when "we have not enough to get a fair street car service or a safe water supply." Most City Council members were, however, untroubled by such trifles. Alderman J. G. Tipton generously estimated an Edmonton population of 250,000 in five years, and Alderman Dr. H. R. Smith computed on this basis a mere dollar per year per capita cost for a facility of what he considered one hundred times that value to each individual. One of the parks commissioners, C. Lionel Gibbs, preferred the central city site because the other site was across the Canadian Northern Railway tracks from the downtown area, and "a railway line becomes more of a dividing line with every increase in population and traffic." A river near the downtown, on the other hand, "becomes more and more a connecting link...as a city grows larger. Bridges are built and people generally enjoy going to a river bank."[2]

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Among the ten aldermen, only the labour representative, James East, opposed recommending to the ratepayers a by-law "for the creating of a debt in the sum of $2,712,193.34 for the purpose of purchasing certain lands for the establishment of a Civic Centre and for the leasing of debentures in the said sum." According to Mrs. Arthur (Emily) Murphy, speaking on behalf of the Women's Canadian Club, the city "ought to lose no time in buying the land. It will never be cheaper than at present." To the Club it was still a matter of regret that the Todd scheme for city beautification had been rejected seven years earlier. Within five days of the end of March voting date, three public meetings were held in different parts of the city. A. U. Morrell, the Minneapolis landscape architect, happened coincidentally to be in town on other business; he smoothly fixed the perspective by comparing the Edmonton land costs to the impossible prospects of cities with no unimproved land whatever in their city centres. Although Alderman East still suspected the property owners in question of being the scheme's main promoters, other aldermen were unanimously for the by-law purely on the basis of the expansion motive. Alderman Alexander M. Livingstone could see no reason why a city with some $19,000,000 of credit still unused should not plunge into the project: it was a question, he argued, of whether the citizens were "worthy of a city of a quarter of a million population, or a village state." What else but untrammelled collective ambition can be seen in the statement of prominent south side businessman and former Plaindealer editor J. H. McDonald, that "the project was a big one, but Edmonton citizens were progressive and did big things."[3]

Nevertheless, at the second of the three public meetings, just three days before the vote, Mayor William Short shocked his listeners, including the assembly's chairman, by declaring the by-law financially dangerous. At first he warned only in a general way that more important projects would become difficult to finance, and that the procedure of paying private holders in city debentures might "injure the city's regular issues" by the untimely release to the market of "vagrant issues". But when all the property owners signed agreements to withhold marketing their debentures for periods of from six to nine months, the Mayor was forced to admit at the last public meeting that "only with extreme difficulty" had the city's bankers managed to promise even half the eleven million dollars committed to urban projects and services for which citizens thought the relevant debentures had all been sold. Here was ghastly news, immediately prompting the chairman of that meeting, former Strathcona Mayor Robert Lee, to point out that held-over debentures on the civic centre project would fool no financiers, who would use their knowledge of them to drive down prices on remaining intervening Edmonton debentures.[4]

The civic unanimity was broken, not among those who would have the most reason to worry about the tax costs, those in the east or north-east districts, but rather, among the more affluent and enterprising of the west end who understood the implications. Not only did the by-law fail to attain the necessary two-thirds majority, it failed even to receive a simple majority support. Results listed by poll show the south side evenly divided, the east and north-east in favour, but the west (where, according to a newspaper report, the majority of the votes were "polled by large owners, having three and four votes apiece") decidedly opposed. Though it would take some time to unravel the details of the financial morass into which Edmonton was sinking, the first, sharp public knowledge came with the civic centre debate and decision. The modest civic building eventually completed in August, once supposed temporary, would have to suffice until 1956.[5]

The extent to which this result was a reversal of prevailing trends can be seen in the contrast with by-law results earlier that year when twenty of twenty-one by-laws were blithely passed committing the city to a further debt in excess of $5,000,000 for projects ranging from construction of additional fire and police stations through acquisition of land "for General Unspecified Purposes", to a massive allocation for expanding the municipal street railway system. The lone by-law which failed resoundingly was presumably defeated for its intent to give public support to a private, sectarian service: it proposed a grant of almost a quarter of a million dollars to the Roman Catholic Misericordia Hospital. The margins of approval for most of the money by-laws were as huge as the margin of defeat for the Misericordia: this despite rumours already of an uncertain money market.[6]

The trend to spend in previous years had been, as gradually became apparent to Mayor Short, accompanied by the beginning of financial difficulties at least by 1912. The problems were two-fold. At the same time as the 1912 Council had prepared plans which would require millions of dollars in future expenditure, the budget of 1912 was being enormously overspent. As a result of 1912 commitments and the February, 1913 by-law decisions, Short's administration was faced with floating $11,000,000 in municipal bonds at a time when investors were showing themselves decidedly reluctant to trust to extremes the expansive urban spirit of North American cities. Simultaneously the city commissioners had been lured into fiscal irresponsibility, authorizing some $4-5,000,000 of expenditure over budget in 1912 and blundering into paving contracts early in 1913 amounting to $800,000 more than Council had provided for. Their mistakes of course compounded the indebtedness which the mayor had the responsibility to arrange. It took until September for auditors to clarify the financial picture; at that point the City Collector found to his dismay that his success rate in recovering overdue taxes was being cut to one-third because of what he surmised was the "general monetary stringency." A Bulletin editorial at the end of the year concluded that the amount of the civic debt requiring to be paid with interest out of taxes was, if not quite "approaching the limit of the taxpayer's ability to pay," certainly nearing "the end of his willingness to pay. That is the danger point." Of a $22,000,000 debt, $9,000,000 was admittedly in revenue earning utilities (but they were not for the time being repaying expenses), while the remaining $13,000,000 was without doubt the ratepayers' long-term collective responsibility. The mayor calculated the per capita debt at $300 in Edmonton in comparison with a $100 figure for Toronto.[7]

At one point in July the mayor met with a special committee of aldermen to explore emergency contingency plans, including a Minneapolis precedent in which temporary "citizens' bonds" bearing larger than usual interest rates could be taken by ratepayers in any area desiring local improvements. That might at least cover some of the essential services of water and sewerage. Aldermanic exchanges became chippier than usual; small operational mix-ups were enough to make the attachment of blame a general pastime. Consciousness of a crisis was widespread and disruptive by the summer. By then it was clear that the first effort to overcome the monumental need for funds was a failure. In mid-April Council had agreed to market

$11,000,000 worth of debentures through a brokerage known as the Kleinwort Company. When the Kleinwort firm experienced difficulty by mid-summer in re-selling the debentures, it forced a renegotiation in September at terms less favourable to the city, but terms making the issue easier to dispose of. The loss to the city in the renegotiation was nearly $190,000; at that Kleinworts evidently had to take up half the debentures itself. To take legal action against Kleinworts rather than accept the harsher arrangement would, according to Short, have been pointless, because the money simply was not available elsewhere. With the Kleinworts deal, on the other hand, there was said to be a future possibility of a $5,000,000 loan from Lloyds of London. Characterized by one observer as "no small black eye for Edmonton," it was nevertheless accepted by many (within the context of general credit scarcity) as the price for continued development.[8]

Short would eventually suffer politically, however, not only because of the cost of his financial arrangement, but also as a result of complications in his efforts to improve civic efficiency. All three of his approaches offended some significant group in the city: he set out to reduce expenditures in some areas, to root out inefficiency among some civic employees, and to increase taxes for some citizens. Because over-expenditures galled him most, efficiency was his first concern. Not only did he attempt to reorganize civic departments, but he saw to the dismissal of the commissioner responsible for public works, John Chalmers, and of the city auditor, R. L. Richardson. In connection with this, he pressed his

Council to propose to the provincial legislature an amendment to the Edmonton charter giving City Council power to fire commissioners by simple majority decision. Approval by the legislature added intensity to the resentment in some quarters engendered by departmental reorganizations involving further dismissals. He urged the splitting of the city engineer's duties, and the designation of specific responsibilities for each commissioner, who could then more easily be held accountable. Before the end of the year the civic elections brought opportunity to enlarge the division of opinion, and Short's mayoralty opponent would advocate a popular alternative administrative panacea: the form of the elective commission. According to this prescription, administrative responsibility would be ensured by replacing the Council and appointed commissioners by five commissioners elected for long terms, who would be subject as well to the pressures of recall, initiative and referendum procedures. A group of businessmen organized as the "Civic Government League" guaranteed a public comparison of this alternative with the measures taken by Short and his council by petitioning council to hold a plebiscite on the issue. If not, the League, which included among its members the individual who would be Short's mayoralty opponent, W. J. McNamara, threatened to place candidates in the field who would organize such a plebiscite.[9]

If bureaucratic efficiency was his first concern, it might seem quite natural that Short, who regularly referred to ideal business standards to evaluate the operation of civic government, should secondly stress financial accountability and depend heavily on the appointment of specialists to accomplish it. At the end of January he discussed with the Council the possibility of adding two special commissioners to the four man board (including the mayor) with particular duties designed to eliminate wasteful spending. He came increasingly to argue that trained expertise was far more important to running a city than the structure of a civic administration or the titles of its leading directors. He spoke of a need for a "cost engineer", a central auditor and an "efficiency officer" to reduce waste. In February the commissioners appointed George C. Buck, previously travelling auditor with the Marshall-Wells hardware company, to audit the efficiency of expenditures as Inspector of Departments. Again at Short's instigation, in June the commissioners (all save Chalmers) authorized Buck to enforce his recommendations to department superintendents, subject only to appeal to the commissioners, rather than wait for prior top-level approval each time. In March, one E. W. Bowness was brought from Portland, Oregon to serve as cost engineer in a consultative capacity, among other things to discern the causes of financial deficits in the street railway and telephone systems. He soon identified a comprehensive list of little reasons for street railway inefficiency and recommended some re-routing and some double tracking to reduce traffic congestion at rush-hour. Control over purchasing was supposed to be improved by a new system of centralized supply through the "stores and works" department, again reportedly over Chalmers' objections.[10]

When the mayor and commissioners (except Chalmers) approved a Bowness circular letter instructing each civic employee to submit reports on his or her departmental work, ostensibly to assist in preparation of an organizational chart, Chalmers publicized his displeasure, some employees refused to comply with the order, and Alderman East defended their rebellion. He called upon Council to censure the commissioners for sanctioning sinister "espionage" techniques which would have "woeful effects in the city service" in terms of morale. But as the dismissal of Chalmers and City Auditor Richardson in late summer was to indicate, the resolve of Short and the Council majority held. The parks, city architect's and gas departments disappeared, some of their functions carried on with reduced administrative structure. Ironically, however, sheer maintenance of the efficiency so created was held to require the establishment of an entirely new "efficiency bureau" to persist in the temporary duties of consultant Bowness. Something should also be done, argued the new city auditor, to increase central control in the accounting system. By the end of the year Short was looking at the decisions of the past with a jaundiced eye: enormous "car barns" for street cars which were outside on duty anyway for three-quarters of each day; the proposition to build a trunk sewer system recommended for a city of a quarter million people. For the future, Short professed to value spending restraint and caution to the extent of audits and Council authorization before payments; that would however require an intricate system of constantly up-dated accounting for easy instant analysis.[11]

It can be seen that every proposal to economize seemed to recommend yet another extension of civic bureaucracy which, if each had been implemented, would immediately nullify part of the anticipated saving, disaster for a Council determined for most of the year to keep up its capital projects. If the necessary money could not be borrowed or saved, then it would have to be extracted mainly by taxation (business licences earned little). Yet a real dilemma postponed very much realistic attention to tax reform. Since the chartering of the city in 1904 the land tax had sustained Edmonton's needs; there was no assessment for taxation of improvements on the land and would not be until 1918. Since 1910 other sources of income had been abandoned: the poll tax, the income tax, a business tax. To return to additional taxation fields would be to abandon the optimism about future growth which was the foundation of the single land tax. Instead, the City Council chose to raise assessments to a new peak, double the per capita rate which had prevailed in 1906. The only other innovation was a highly debatable amendment to the procedure to assess charges for what were termed "local improvements" only to those in the immediate vicinity. But these, it became clear to ratepayers during the year, included such publicly used services as street paving. The Board of Trade therefore did not see the logic in the commissioners' statement issued by Short outlining the justifying principle "that the rich and the poor shall be treated alike," each paying for the service from which he most directly benefitted. Although Short claimed the new system was intended to reduce the costs to residents by increasing the share paid by downtown businesses, this was a collective argument utterly lost on those individuals who had to face the sudden costs of new projects, or who, as it apparently turned out, saw improvements already launched under the previous cost-shared system abruptly come under the altered arrangement.[12] In the end it was an irritant which, like ever higher assessments, failed to come to terms with the overall problem.

The public projects of the city depended upon increasing tax-supported indebtedness; Edmonton's tax base depended upon ever-spiralling land assessments, and increasing land values required a continuing influx of population with capital. All through the year, therefore, widespread advertisement of the city's attractions, as well as those of the supportive surrounding countryside, was carried on as though Edmonton's once-booming situation was unchanged. As in previous years, several agencies created the publicity: the city's Industrial Commission and the separate but municipally subsidized Central Development League, the Edmonton Publicity Board, and the Citizen's Press Bureau, which took over in the last part of 1912 the operations previously conducted by the Board of Trade with $18,000 in civic subsidy. Thousands of inquiries were received as usual, some no doubt stimulated by tens of thousands of letters sent out with hundreds of thousands of promotional brochures intended to create voluminous coverage at low cost in the form of far distant lectures, newspaper and magazine articles, some accompanied by photographs. The only sign given of anxiety about the results lay in the repeated assertions of the Board of Trade and the Citizen's Press Bureau that they were somehow concentrating on attracting "outside capital and desirable population" to the exclusion of the unfit who might drift in simply because they had failed elsewhere.[13] But this orthodoxy was no more successful than the others in arresting the downturn. A goodly proportion of Edmonton's extra population early in 1914 would be made up not of capitalists but of unemployed wage earners.

In fact 1913 was the last year in a deliberate three-year attempt to entice urban industry to Edmonton. In one last requirement in 1913 to come to the aid of the C.P.R., according to their agreement, with 40 percent of a 10 percent overexpenditure on the construction of the high level bridge, the city came to the end of a notable era of aggressive financial encouragement for three transcontinental railways to intersect in Edmonton. The Macdonald Hotel stood as another massive testimony to the 1911 willingness of the ratepayers to subsidize the Grand Trunk Pacific for that project to the extent of water provided at cost for twenty years, and taxation on a fixed minimal assessment for the same long period. The C.P.R. bridge had been completely exempted from taxation, and had only been constructed following 1909 agreements confirmed by 1910 by-laws guaranteeing nearly two-thirds of the million dollar cost would be raised by Edmonton and Strathcona. As was already clear by 1906, Edmonton Councils habitually counted on the pursuit of railway connections to eliminate requirements for much of the standard urban practice of granting artificial advantages to other industries. The presence of the railways was itself expected to attract industry; the city would graciously grant access for spur lines. Between 1910 and 1912 the city experimented tentatively with a policy of leasing industrial land which could be purchased on demonstration of progress. That option to purchase, as well as a supplementary policy of temporary low-cost water, light and power utilities, was discontinued in 1912. In 1913 lease rates were tied to the value of the land. The belated provincial legislation of 1913 to disallow civic bonusing, tax exemptions, bond and debenture guarantees, stock subsidies, and land sales and leases below cost, meant little to Edmonton.[14] Edmonton's financial investment in future expansion had gone into railway development; the cost of this single-minded approach was a continuing collective commitment.

Another obvious sign of Edmonton's anticipation of sustained growth merely to cope with its financial commitments was its vast domain of urban lot development beyond the settled core. The territory of Edmonton in 1913 was more than five times that of 1907. Subdivision after subdivision would be of little use either to speculators or to the city as a whole unless they could be filled with residents capable of shouldering the debt burdens both private and public. A public recognition that untrammelled private real estate promotion could have bad collective effects was expressed as early as January, 1913 in a city commissioner's statement that he was ready to "war to the knife with these enterprising real estate Philistines," even to the point of seeking provincial legislation, to prevent "professional re-subdividers" from encroaching on the city's magnificent X-shaped survey of the remaining 1,100 acres of Hudson's Bay Company reserve land which would focus on the central "Strathcona Square".

But a much more serious lesson than the aesthetic one had yet to be learned. By the middle of the year civic officials and private developers were attempting to extricate themselves from financial difficulties by imposing impossible burdens each upon the other. Subdivision owners were pressing the city to provide services, both by adding yet more outlying areas to the sprawling urban territory, and by lobbying for particular utility extensions within. One observer discerned that the speculators stood to gain a fictitious enhanced real estate value from introduction of their property to urban status. Alderman May saw that pressure for service extensions would increase, and along with them the civic debt. If the city were to accept the sly offer of some developers to pay for streetcar extensions, the city commissioners warned, that clever ploy would trap the city into providing the other utilities necessary when the outlying but connected subdivisions filled with cheaper houses. On the other hand, from his appreciation of the city's financial extremities, the mayor imposed equally unrealistic expectations on the developers at this late date: in one lecture on "civic development", he sought to release the city from its burdens (one might be tempted to say previously accepted responsibilities) by the requirement that developers use their "enormous unearned increment" from speculation to pay in advance for necessary utilities of water, sewers, and paved streets and lanes.[15] Though this might well have been a sensible and cautious policy to stifle undue speculation had it been instituted about 1900, it was purely a rhetorical escape mechanism by 1913. By then the urban community was in trouble for accepting earlier the visions of those who had tried to transcend the real foundations of gradual economic growth.

Incredibly, it took months of argument to demonstrate to Edmonton aldermen that the expansive folly had reached its crisis. The rejection of many of the nineteen proposed civic boundary extensions by the provincial legislature did not prevent a series of fierce debates throughout the year which generally pitted the commissioners and their senior officials against the Council. On one issue, the expansion of the city's water supply, all but two aldermen (one of them East) were perfectly willing to accept a price tag above $3,000,000 to build an entirely new system to filter water pumped from the North Saskatchewan to one of two alternative elevated locations a few miles away from the river, the purified water to be returned to the city by gravity. The ostensible reason appeared in the spring of the year: a visibly dirty water supply. Some doctors induced public alarm by suggesting that the river source so close to the city could easily be contaminated by such horrifying diseases as typhoid fever. A long list of experts, including two outside consultant firms, the superintendent of Edmonton's water department, and the city commissioners themselves, proved conclusively according to the accepted standards of the day that Edmonton's filtration system was excellent, that it remained only to improve the sedimentation facilities to eliminate the annual spring appearance of dirtiness from stirred up sand, and that the only qualitatively adequate plan eventually to serve a city of half a million people was to take water directly from the North Saskatchewan. To expand the filtration capacity would cost less than one-tenth the plans for the cheapest gravity system in the hills; even to move the pumphouse further up river to overcome Short's objection that sewerage lines would soon be entering the river above the current pump location would cost no more than one-quarter the price of the gravity schemes. Nevertheless, and with no discernible firm supporting arguments, the aldermen resisted the expert recommendations throughout the year, and they would not give in until after end-of-year elections installed a new Council for 1914. Here too there were hints during the debate that aldermen like J. G. Tipton, with property along the routes to the two proposed gravity system locations, the Rabbit Hills or the more distant Beaver Hills, were unduly influenced by expectations of land value increases.[16]

In the furor over street railway extensions the division of opinion was much more straightforward. Streetcars had begun to run in 1908 in Edmonton, and from 1910 to 1914 they consumed progressively greater public investments and ran progressively higher annual operating deficits. Early in 1913 Transit Superintendent W. T. Woodroffe blamed the financial woes of his burgeoning thirty mile system on wasteful financial procedures by which debts were incurred months and even years before the capital was applied to construction, inadequate construction necessitating expensive improvements, and reckless extensions far beyond the range of self-sustaining traffic. He recommended a year of restraint. Even a near doubling of traffic in 1912 over that of 1911, and a better rate of passengers per mile than was true of the profitable (but smaller) Calgary system scarcely made any impact on Edmonton deficits. Some south side extensions had been guaranteed in the terms of amalgamation but, even so, that is no adequate explanation for the orgy of expansion in which City Council proposed to engage once again during 1913.[17]

The most memorable confrontation occurred late in March, when Council approved extensions amounting to ten miles of track, appropriately enough in all four directions to the far east and far west, to the north and far to the south on the south side. Only one of the proposals, the northern extension, was supportable on the basis of any reasonable density of population. With one alderman absent, six aldermen lined up against the furious opposition of Aldermen East, Smith and Livingstone. The latter critics were supporting the adverse report of the city commissioners, who argued along Woodroffe's earlier lines that the requested temporary track would only lead to future extra replacement costs, that street car lines should not precede other services which would be impossible to finance, and that outlying extensions should not precede filling in areas in which residential demand already existed. For the majority of aldermen, Alderman Tipton tore into the civic officials for their excessive pessimism, for "painting a picture of gloom ...as black as possible." Along with other lobbyists, he supported the proposals as benefits to "laboring men" who could not afford lots where street cars already ran and had no alternative but to purchase further out, if only they could get the street car connections. Temporary "mud" tracks would last long enough, in his estimation, to serve a rapid build-up of population which could pay for permanent tracks set in asphalt.

Several of the proposals included gifts to the city on the part of the developer: payment for construction of the lines and, in one case, even the guarantee of operating expenses for the first two years. But Alderman Smith countered with illustrations of what these sacrifices were actually likely to mean to developers standing to gain millions from escalating lot prices. But of course Smith's criticism of developers' motives presupposed continued expansion which, to most aldermen, was greatly to be desired and which would in turn help to pay off civic debts. Much more disturbing was Alderman Livingstone's attack, which envisioned only limited outlying settlements as the result, where individuals would have only transportation but no proper water and sewerage service, let alone lights, power and telephones. Because his outlook was so universally bleak, Livingstone's contention that this "real estate scheme" was "rotten" raised the ultimate reaction among the proposal's boosters. "Some of the aldermen," observed Tipton, "did not appear to have much faith in the future growth of the city." And that was the fundamental issue for Edmontonians in the crisis year of 1913.[18]

In this particular case, what Alderman Livingstone could not accomplish by threat of legal action, the Board of Trade did by protesting the illegality if not the doubtful ethics of accepting gifts of private railway extensions without reference to a ratepayers' decision. Together with the arrival of more propositions of a similar nature, the Board's objection caused the Council to refer the whole issue to the commissioners and several of their chief administrators late in April. That those officials were by then well aware of the difficulty of floating municipal debentures might well explain why no general policy was ready by October, when another street railway extension was requested off to the east on the south side. Although the commissioners again recommended postponing it until residential expansion justified new lines, Council remained reluctant to drop the proposal, repeatedly referring it to committee well into 1914. Indeed, about the only plan considered just beyond reality for the time being in 1913 was an immediate connection of Edmonton's street car system to the Interurban Railway line under construction toward Edmonton from nearby St. Albert; and even here, when one of the gift proposals of March would have accomplished that connection free of charge, the majority of aldermen showed themselves agreeable.[19]

There was an odd disparity in 1913 between the slowdown in Council approvals to new projects and the bustling construction activity to handle the projects largely designed in 1912 but approved by the ratepayers early in 1913. During a period of general decline in the building industry in the city, the municipal government was supervising far greater extension of utilities in 1913 than had been the case in 1912. For some, like grading, boulevarding and paving of streets; laying watermain and sewerage pipe, and expanding the system of telephone conduits, the 1913 additions were twice and more the standards set in 1912. The uncertainty arising in 1913 would be outwardly obvious only in 1914; in the meantime aldermen found it difficult to reconcile what they saw and cherished with the new retreat dictated by financial reality. At the end of the year a new "Municipal Manual" prepared to advertise Edmonton made proud use of the year's public expansion statistics. Then too, electric light and power was being distributed at an operating surplus large enough to cover all losses in other departments save that of the street railway. Several private bids were made to purchase the city's power system. If the problems of the street railway, said by its superintendent to be suffering principally from maintenance of unprofitably low fares, could be solved, the city's utilities seemed at least to be reasonable projects operationally.[20] What the commissioners in general protested was unreasonable utilities expansion in advance of residential expansion, the courting of disaster by over-extension of capital indebtedness. The popular will expressed by Council was to keep the developmental spiral going, without regard for the actual limited nature of the city's economic foundations. As the municipal election campaign at the end of the year would show, popular reluctance to admit the consequences of profligate collective decisions in previous years remained strong into 1914.

A brand new project could still capture the fancy of even some of those who were beginning to counsel caution on utility extensions. Exciting new vistas were opened by the prospect of introducing natural gas to fuel the city. The Board of Trade, although it helped to stifle the City Council's enthusiasm for rampant street railway extensions, nevertheless urged city officials to investigate the feasibility of using gas. This promised a financial outlay of considerable magnitude, attended by the risk inherent in the initial requirement to search for a good supply. Only once, when gas was discovered in 1908 as close as Morinville (twenty-five miles north of the city), had Edmontonians agreed to support a private project to find natural gas with which to supply the city.[21] There was nothing especially different about the proposition which arose in 1913. Its significance, however, lay in its promotion by civic leaders perfectly aware of the city's financial difficulties. It afforded their opponents peculiar opportunities during the subsequent municipal election campaign to castigate Mayor Short and several aldermen for irresponsibility. City Council ignored the expert arguments of the city commissioners, the gas department superintendent and two outside geological consultants against the proposal to develop a nearby gas field at Pelican Rapids, as presented by the private Pelican Gas Company. The opposition was based on cost ($3,000,000 without including distribution), inadequate supply, and weak natural pressure, yet Council persisted all year with the attempt to justify submission of the project to the ratepayers. That the mayor and at least one alderman had for a time had interests in the Pelican company was an allegation which probably helped to defeat them during the municipal election.[22]

The other agencies with plenty of motivation left in 1913 to spend capital funds and build the urban debt were the school boards, especially the public school board. Population growth meant terrific pressure on the facilities for that universally appreciated service. With a student enrollment of 5,200 in January, 1913, up 35 percent in a year, the public school board saw no alternative to launching new school projects. At the beginning of the year, six new schools were projected for construction during the year at an anticipated cost of $1,250,000 for sites, buildings and equipment. It was significant that the board had the services of a building commissioner, who was at least as prominent in board affairs in 1913 as the superintendent. The only issue to interrupt a steady procession of decisions about the building program during the year was a brief reaction by south siders against the school board decision to replace the dual superintendency left over from pre-amalgamation days with the unified supervision of a single superintendent, who would not be the south side incumbent. Even so, land could not be acquired and permanent school buildings erected quickly enough to accommodate the spring immigration wave. Temporary buildings and additions went up to alleviate crowds of fifty or sixty pupils in single classrooms. Finding a buyer for $1,250,000 worth of debentures (an investment banking firm in Toledo, Ohio) was a tense procedure lasting until June, by which time the money raised would cover only four of the projected six new schools. The number of temporary two-room frame schools proliferated, especially when it became apparent by September that debentures expected to have been floated on the school board's behalf by the city were being marketed only slowly, with great difficulty. Arrangements for construction of a school in the Highlands district therefore put off any progress payments to the contractor until the spring of 1914.[23]

The separate school board experienced much the same problem on a smaller scale, but with an added complication. With enrollment perhaps a fifth to a quarter of public school totals, this board worked with a budget which was less than a tenth of the public board's budget. The separate school board was therefore preoccupied with the difficulty of prying loose its fair share of tax money from civic collectors. Not only were city officials unconcerned whether or not Catholic ratepayers' names were on the proper separate school supporters' list, but they seemed to the separate school board to make no effort to assign a proper proportion of corporate ratepayers' taxes to Catholic education.[24]

There were special reasons for keeping up expenditures in the areas of law enforcement and health and welfare. The police department had come under close scrutiny in 1912 for its alleged failures to control not so much criminal violence as public offenses to the prevailing morality, especially gambling and prostitution. A police expert of acknowledged ability in detective work, Silas Carpenter, was therefore enticed from Montreal to act as chief constable and, although he would leave again in 1914 after becoming entangled in the urban politics of morality, throughout 1913 he imposed the control he had been brought to establish. Using the argument that a booming population growth and a transient population required it, Carpenter achieved a 25 percent increase in his force, raising its number to more than 100. As a result, the rate of suspect apprehension and conviction in the sensitive areas of assault, vagrancy, gaming, bawdy houses and drunkenness, were equally impressive. Discipline was firm: a pair of constables alleged to have made undue public criticism of the police administration were promptly dismissed, and their application to appeal the decision was rejected by Council, although Aldermen East, May, Livingstone and Driscoll together forced Short to cast the deciding vote. Money was secured through a by-law for improving police communications, and the first experiments with automobiles and motorcycles convinced the city to carry on with their use, so far on a limited scale.[25]

Public health in a city of growing congestion (in spite of its vast outlying districts) was also coming into its own as a legitimate field in which to guarantee protection by regular and significant municipal funding. Although the voluntary element had not yet been altogether displaced, it could not exist without public financial support. The Victorian Order of Nurses, an international organization dedicated to providing home nursing service, was directed in Edmonton as elsewhere by a volunteer branch of the Order, supporting a pair of full time nurses. They required civic grant money to supplement that raised in other ways principally to serve those who could not afford to pay the full fee. The Women's Hospital Aid Society and the Board of Control for the Royal Alexandra Hospital coordinated all the fund raising for the public hospital; the civic grant here was large. Even so, it was not nearly adequate along with fees to cover costs. Major grants were earnestly sought. Without a $25,000 gift from Lord Strathcona, the south side hospital adjacent to the university might not have been constructed as early as 1913. A $1,000 gift given by a C.N.R. executive officer to furnish wards in a planned addition to the Royal Alexandra sent both boards into raptures. More than 40 percent of hospital bed space before the Royal Alexandra additions was in the Roman Catholic General and Misericordia hospitals almost wholly privately supported hospitals, but that was not for want of effort to secure major municipal subsidies. Hospitals were most unlikely to grow much past the 120 patient mark which characterized the Royal Alexandra unless the tax-paid portion of their funds, and with it the degree of municipal control, were to escalate dramatically. Hospital Board chairman Alan C. Fraser recognized the inevitability of this when he had in January to make an emergency appeal for funds just to pay salaries immediately due. The crisis made him quite willing to see his board dissolved in favour of municipal ownership. City Council was less enthusiastic, granting an emergency fund to cover the immediate need, but postponing decision on the broader solution. Fraser made the dilemma explicit again on the issue of a new isolation hospital: not only did Edmonton's sheer population size (and therefore the cost of an adequate hospital) make the funding impossible except by ratepayers' support for yet another debenture issue, but the plans on which a $100,000 by-law passed were obsolete before construction was to start. Reality, reported the Hospital Board, dictated a price tag more than double that.[26]

The magnitude of hospital service costs, both operating and capital, had joined prevention of contagious disease as a legitimate responsibility for the urban community as a whole, and was, in 1913, more prominent a problem than epidemics. Edmonton had, for that era, a remarkably low incidence of contagious disease in 1913. The Medical Health Officer, Dr. T. H. Whitelaw, was invited to offer his explanations as an expert to the Canadian Medical Association. They were that preventative work should be based on the contact theory of contagion and that specific solutions were vaccination for smallpox (a policy for Edmonton school children) and absolute quarantine of the diseased past the point of incubation. Nevertheless, even a good year still meant 10 cases of smallpox, 174 of diphtheria, 150 of typhoid fever, and 215 of scarlet fever, potential killers all. Whitelaw therefore worked closely with the men of the Board of Health, including the mayor, the city engineer, and a number of local doctors. He was responsible for the sanitation of the incinerator plants and the city dump, and saw street cleaning become important enough to operate within its own department. He supervised an inspection team covering categories labelled Health, Dairy, Sanitation, Food, and Milk. He warned about slums, overcrowding and transience as dangerous to urban public health. Although he spoke of the residents in tenements and boarding houses as distasteful creatures, he was perfectly clear about the necessity to report disease quickly so it could be isolated. If anything, crowding, alien ethnicity and transient lifestyles in parts of the east end helped indirectly to emphasize the value of public health precautions, even when the disease level was not abnormally high.[27] For the public health program as for the hospital program, therefore, Edmontonians were reconciled to paying collectively through their taxes and adding to the mounting debt.

The difficulties of those who for various reasons did not earn a reasonable living in the city were still met in a fairly haphazard way, but perceptions changed somewhat during the year. A multitude of private agencies provided assistance: churches, benevolent societies, service clubs on their own; mission organizations like the Salvation Army, the Beulah Mission Home and the Bethphage Home all with municipal financial support. Even the Edmonton Journal helped by regularly publicizing cases deserving help from readers. Private agencies were certainly left the task of caring for the "mentally deranged" or the "feeble minded". But for those who "deserved" help - that is, for those expected to require only temporary assistance to become rapidly self-sufficient - public money was available. From 1909 until 1913 an organization known as the United Aids coordinated some of the relief work of the city, drawing on both private support and municipal subsidy. A 1909 Children's Protection Act led not only to development of the provincially supervised Children's Aid Society, but also to a combined provincial/civic Children's Shelter to provide temporary accommodation for homeless children until they were placed with relatives, friends, adoptive parents, in employment, or in other institutions. When the provincial Department of Municipal Affairs was established in 1912, moreover, municipal relief measures which were once the responsibility of the provincial Department of Agriculture were shifted definitely into the domain of the municipalities. A Civic Relief Department thenceforth administered such assistance as the city would provide to the destitute in terms of food, accommodation, clothing, medical care, burial, transportation and, by 1913, finding employment. Until 1913, this department worked under the coordinating umbrella of the United Aids, but a significant separation of the two was made in January, such that in the unemployment crisis which would afflict the city in December, the Relief Department would take the lead.[28]

The factor which increased the awareness of a social welfare requirement among both the public and the private agencies in Edmonton in 1913 was unemployment. The United Aids had highlighted Christmas fund raising campaigns to provide gifts and essentials to the desperate at that season of the year, but throughout the year could handle the appeals of but a fraction of the hundreds briefly assisted each Christmas. When the Edmonton Welfare Association was being organized in September and October to replace the United Aids, the larger perspective of the Winnipeg-based organizer of the Canadian Welfare League, J. S. Woodsworth, was clear. The new organization, he urged, should not only provide city-wide coordination and efficiency for every branch of relief, but it should also grapple with the standard problem of seasonal unemployment and should deal with what he saw as the related difficulty of assimilating "foreign citizens" by the device of social settlements in their midst. But the new association fell back on the traditional Christmas plans.

Even the city commissioners' recommendation of municipal "prison-farms" and welfare-farms on the Ontario model which should also provide work and instruction in trades, both institutions to be directed by a new "Superintendent of Charities and Reforms," came to nothing. That positive step toward a comprehensive system of social welfare was allowed to fade away on the excuse that a suitable location was difficult to find. Unemployment and massive demonstrations by hundreds of desperate men were, as we shall see, far more understandable threats to the city; they finally added to the other collective burdens arising from Edmonton's financial over-extension the costs of emergency relief. On the last day of the year a writer in the Edmonton Journal's editorial columns recommended municipal takeover of the city's charities as "the application of economical efficient business methods to activities that have been carried on in a manner that can only be characterized as haphazard, wasteful and inefficient."[29]

With expansion in civic responsibilities for utilities, health and social welfare all apparently not subject to control, despite the knowledge that financing them was nearly impossible, something symbolic at least had to go. It was the cosmetics. In August, 1913 City Council followed up the ratepayers' rejection of a new civic complex with the elimination of both the city architect's department and the parks department. The city architect protested to no avail that his department's costs were far cheaper than commissions to private architectural consultants would prove to be. As for the parks department, some of its personnel survived, for the maintenance of a fairly comprehensive parks system of nearly 800 acres had to be continued, but the separate department was swallowed up by the city engineer's department from which it had emerged little more than a year earlier.

When both the separate parks department and a Parks Commission were recommended by City Council's parks committee in 1911, the city had just gone through a flurry of park acquisitions, for which it was anticipated considerable development should be carefully planned and implemented, and yet more added. The importance of parks to land values in the vicinity was well understood, as is clear in one rejected 1912 offer in which the intending donor of 300 acres of the south side White Mud Creek valley attached as his condition that considerable development take place in the first three years after civic acquisition. The Parks Commission was therefore an impressive body, including not only the Parks Superintendent, Paul A. Von Aueberg, but also the city engineer, the mayor and city commissioners, some aldermen and some leading private citizens. It was to "advise and initiate" the beautification of the city. Aware that outlying subdivisions might apply for annexation without providing for park space, Council in August, 1912 ensured automatic parkland extensions by passing a by-law to require five percent of all land annexed by the city to be set aside for park development, and a further five percent to be available at "acreage prices". The landscape architects who provided Edmonton's civic centre plans, Morrell and Nichols of Minneapolis, were engaged as well to prepare parks plans. These plans reflected the initial enthusiasm of the Parks Commission, envisioning far more than expensive development of existing parks;

they included extensive boulevard preparation, attention even to planned housing, new ravine park acquisitions, and the development of a fifteen mile River Drive. The trouble with the designs was that, although they would, in the words of the Parks Commission secretary, R. B. Chadwick, "make Edmonton one of the most beautiful cities on the Continent," they would also "require a considerable expenditure of money at the outset." Superintendent Von Aueberg's first set of work proposals in January, 1913 were already pruned considerably by City Council, and expansion and development were effectively curtailed in the first half of the year. The mere maintenance of relatively unsophisticated natural parks required the attention of no separate agency. After the demise of his department, Von Aueberg found himself back at the old tasks of finding the most suitable trees for planting here and there, while the Superintendent of Playgrounds carried on with the maintenance of skating rinks and toboggan slides.[30]

As the enterprise of City Council and its supporting agencies slowly wound down, the advice of the two major city-wide organizations to take an interest in the work of civic government, the Board of Trade and the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council, failed in both cases to provide imaginative alternatives to the technique of reacting to problems after they arose. The retiring Board chairman at the beginning of the year, H. Milton Martin, advocated strong support for the work of the Parks Commission; yet the Board made no comment when park development was abandoned by the city. Board of Trade meetings in 1913 appear to have been listless affairs, developing no major aggressive initiatives, and responding to the actions of three levels of government and other Boards of Trade elsewhere mainly by correspondence after the fact.[31]

The traditional image of the Board as the enterprising arm of collective urban development was shaken by the constraints of 1913. One initiative was suggested early in the year by events elsewhere, but the resultant effort was anaemic. Edmonton realtor James McGeorge urged the Board to put energy into a campaign to have a rumoured plan for a national transcontinental highway choose a route through Edmonton and the Yellowhead Pass. In the automobile age, McGeorge was proposing that the Board play a leading role to ensure that the railway accomplishments were not superseded by allowing the transportation system of the future go through Calgary and one of the two southern mountain passes. He wished to raise some alarm in Edmonton and neighbouring municipalities about the possibility Edmonton and district might be left out of highway projects. As a beginning, he recommended and the Board approved establishment of a ninth section within its organization, a "Good Roads" section. A secondary function of this section would be to lobby for improvement of the deplorable roads which did exist already in Alberta. But once formed, the "Good Roads" section did not seem to be able to devise a highway campaign; on the other hand, neither did a national highway project get underway. Instead, the Board drifted along to the point at which it too noticed late in the summer that Edmonton was developing an unemployment problem. A committee struck to investigate "labor supply and employment" came to the traditional conclusion that the plentiful supply of labour, including clerks, pointed quite obviously to a twofold need (or opportunity) for attracting "people with capital who will engage in commercial or industrial enterprises" and for placing farmers on vacant lands to "increase the city's volume of business." But once again clear analysis was not followed by direct action: the Board appeared to have relinquished its onetime developmental role to the civic and other governments.[32]

The Edmonton Trades and Labor Council and its member union locals, or for that matter the separate chapter of the Industrial Workers of the World, had never pretended to take any other approach than vigilant watchfulness. These organizations represented many men (perhaps more than 4,000 if the most optimistic reports are relied upon) and their families, but though numerically influential, they did not by their very nature propose solutions of an entrepreneurial nature. They did not guide the collective destiny of the city, but tried to maintain the relative comfort of numerous categories of employed people within it. Nevertheless, despite their limited ambitions (or perhaps because of them), the unions coordinated by the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council enjoyed a measure of esteem in the community. What they had not been sufficiently organized to do in 1906, to plan the annual Labour Day celebration at the beginning of September, they were expected by all citizens to carry on without fail by 1913. On a rather cold day, some 1,000 Edmontonians still attended the "Labor Day Sports" staged at the exhibition grounds, in which the contestants were primarily from member unions of the E.T. and L.C., and at which "the catching of the greasy pig provided most of the merriment." That the donors of $500 worth of prizes were merchants of the city was significant of the harmony which generally prevailed. The Edmonton Journal was on several occasions anxious to demonstrate the peacefulness of labour-management relations, to the point of exulting in a banquet held by the plasterers', painters' and bricklayers' unions to which employers were invited and welcomed. The editor might have been commissioned by the civic and entrepreneurial leadership of the city for his statement that the city's organized workers "have shown the spirit which is to be expected in insisting on their rights but at the same time their sense of public responsibility has been such as to make them very powerful factors in the steady upbuilding of the community."[33]

Local #82 of the Industrial Workers of the World did not inspire the same confidence, nor did a branch of the Socialist Party of Canada. Organized in August, 1912, the Edmonton local of the I.W.W. was the first significant evidence of industrial as opposed to craft unionism in Edmonton. Posing the spectre, therefore, of massive organization and belligerence, the I.W.W. nevertheless was fairly easily dismissed because its membership was perceived to be small. Although a representative claimed to represent 400 unskilled workers when he required of the City Council a substantial minimum hourly wage (40 cents) for an eight hour day with time-and-a-half pay for overtime and public holidays, his written demand could easily be referred to the commissioners to be forgotten. For most of the year this estimation of I.W.W. weakness was evidently justified; it was only in December when unemployment rates reached critical proportions that their organizational readiness found an outlet. When they helped to organize an Unemployed League, they soon (but mainly early in 1914) unleashed the fear and bitter antagonism of substantial citizens. The Socialist Party never attained any prominence during the year, or the themes of its Sunday meetings in the Gem theatre, including the theory of evolution and Joseph Knight on the relative merits of "Reform or Revolution," would no doubt have excited similar animosity.[34]

The connection of the I.W.W. with the important urban theme of unemployment would give them significance at the end of 1913, but for almost the entire year it was the E.T. and L.C. unions which achieved the greatest hearing. It may well be suspected that their willingness to participate in regular channels of civic organization and their relatively mild approach to negotiations with employers minimized their gains. Their collective presence was, however, heard and acknowledged and, in combination with other political elements, could on occasion be decisive. Though their impact was primarily local, their model was American: guidance on organization and objectives came from the coordinating American Federation of Labor, which had spent the previous decade consolidating its hold on the Canadian trade unions thriving particularly in the cities. The E.T. and L.C. affiliated with the A.F.L. in 1910. Edmonton's Building Trades Council, offended by the intrusion of the A.F.L., resisted formal affiliation only until late 1913. Occasionally the link would mean assistance to brethren elsewhere, as when the E.T. and L.C. responded with a fund drive in January, 1913 to the call of the striking United Garment Workers of New York for help. They might also, on the other hand, act independently, as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners did to join the I.W.W. in support of the coal miners experiencing a savage confrontation on Vancouver Island. For the most part, the significance of the A.F.L. affiliation was to set the relatively stable style of action, which the two major daily newspapers helped to foster by filling their labour pages with international news. Affiliation with the Canadian and Alberta Federations of Labor (the latter only since 1912) would give organized labour more powerful lobby influence at those governmental levels.[35]

The E.T. and L.C. represented at least thirty and perhaps more, if second locals of the same unions are included, of the forty or so unions reported in Edmonton in 1913. That their support was not rabid, but rather tepid, is indicated by the fact that at times half were not members in good standing because of fee arrears. Building tradesmen dominated, although several unions reflected the important presence of railway shops in the city and half the unions displayed great diversity, including Cigarmakers and Theatrical Employees, Street Railway Workers and Bartenders. They held regular weekly or fortnightly meetings, most popularly in the Labor or Mechanics' Halls. When they were not preoccupied with specific demands related to wages or conditions of work, they debated broader issues arising from government actions at one level or another, most often civic, and brought appropriate resolutions to the E.T. and L.C. The E.T. and L.C. at one point opposed a civic grant to a benevolent society intending to provide good but cheap accommodation for young single women because it would encourage their employers to keep their wage scales depressed. A committee of the E.T. and L.C. visited the Premier and the relevant cabinet ministers seeking an amendment to the Building Trades Protection Act to insist on safe scaffolding. A unanimous resolution of the E.T. and L.C. called on union members not to join the militia because that was the force which would inevitably be called upon (as had been the case elsewhere) in a serious strike confrontation "to intimidate the strikers with the motive of breaking the strike." This particular resolve received an early test in December when unionists worked on construction of an armory in the city. Some E.T. and L.C. delegates wished to protest, but the opinion prevailed that employment was more important, even though "the delegates recognized that it was intended for their own undoing."[36]

Besides meetings, the unions conducted social affairs; that is, they had a fraternal function as suggested by the "Brotherhood" in many of their titles. "Smokers" were popular, featuring entertainment by humourists or musicians. The third annual ball of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineermen, Local #810, was advertised on the society page of the Edmonton Journal, not the labour page, and it was by no means unique. There can be no firmer evidence that these tradesmen sought by their organizations to belong to the urban community, not to disrupt it. Nevertheless, they occasionally met stiff resistance from wary employers as they sought recognition of their collective bargaining power. The public employers, the civic administration and the public school board, were their favorite targets, no doubt for the example they would create for private employers. But the city commissioners successfully resisted an attempt by the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union to get union wage levels at major sewerage installations on the grounds that such work should not be classified as bricklaying. Similarly, the Street Railwaymen's Association failed, even with the help of E.T. and L.C. general secretary Alfred Farmilo, to get "closed shop" recognition of the union, to establish rules of seniority as the first principle in assigning preferred runs, or to have properly qualified local men preferred for employment over outsiders. Hard work by the labour representative on the public school board, S. A. Gordon Barnes, was required to ensure enforcement of the "fair wage clause" in school construction contracts. Unions threatened to strike on occasion, and the Sheet Metal Manufacturers' Association locked out close to 150 sheet metal workers from at least 20 shops from January to March, threatening to go to an open shop policy if the union would not accept a lower basic wage rate than it wished subject to increments for ability and experience. Other negotiations similarly tested trade union recognition.[37] If harmony was generally the case in union-management relations in Edmonton in 1913, it was maintained by overcoming repeated frictions.

Large scale unemployment, particularly for the unskilled labourers not represented in E.T. and L.C. unions, provided the most worrisome evidence at year's end of a breakdown in the system which normally sustained the working tension between employers and employed. Furthermore, the result was no labour-management two-party conflict, but a threat to the tranquility of the urban community of most unsettling proportions. The response demanded was collective; the validity not just of employment practices but of the whole urban society was called into question. In early December T. R. Turnbull, the civic Relief Officer, reported the magnitude of the problem and tried without success to get City Council to employ as many as possible at clearing brush for wood supply. Already he knew there were up to 800 unemployed men in the city with no prospect of work despite fine weather allowing civic and private construction projects to continue. The city's trunk sewer construction had alone employed 1,500 men for the winter. But men kept drifting into the city, their seasonal farm labour or construction camp work finished. Most, he was prepared to believe, had already squandered their earnings or were rapidly doing so in the city. Some, however, were married with families to support. Some had no other place to sleep, "and snatch some slumber in old boxes and out-of-the-way corners."[38]

The crisis the city tried to ignore was thrust upon officials on December 19, when hundreds of men organized with I.W.W. help into the Unemployed League of Edmonton met with such sympathetic representatives of the city as Alderman East, E.T. and L.C. general secretary Alfred Farmilo, Mayor-elect W. J. McNamara, the Methodist clergyman at a north-east Edmonton church, Rev. R. H. Aldridge, and Turnbull, who was there as part of his job. Turnbull was suspicious of the men on two counts, but concluded that most were reasonable and genuine applicants for work. Therefore, although he chided them for the "marks of drink in many of their faces," and thought it "a little unfortunate that they were holding their meetings in the I.W.W. headquarters, as it gave people the impression that that organization was at the back of the movement," he was still ready to recommend relief work. On December 22 the League, the executive committee of which sported five Anglo-Saxon names, passed resolutions which actually blamed the problem on railroad contractors and other employers both for promoting excessive "foreign" immigration and the "lack or withdrawal of capital" in seasonal fluctuations. That 1913 was Canada's greatest year of immigration so far, with 400,000 newcomers, was undeniable, but the League's demands nevertheless focussed on the city, not the nation. The city was to provide employment at not less than 30 cents per hour and nine dollars per week to all applicants regardless of age, sex or marital status, or provide meal tickets and "clean, comfortable sleeping quarters." Claiming that "no attention has been paid by the city press to the workers' side of the unemployment problem," a letter from the League executive to the editor of the Edmonton Journal estimated that 500 able-bodied men were "actually starving" and desperate enough to be dangerous. At another mass meeting on December 26, chaired by Jim Rowan, secretary of the Edmonton branch of the I.W.W., McNamara and Turnbull revealed that work would be provided, although it would take time to find work for so many. Turnbull repeated his warning that charity would not be given for drink, and added further that those who would not work properly would be turned over to the police, while he would not tolerate applications from "Russians" claiming to be poor when they were actually "comparatively wealthy."[39]

Even though Turnbull worried incessantly about being swindled, and the dying Council often could not muster a quorum at its meetings, a sympathetic response was being fashioned. The Street Department superintendent reported a list of work, mainly clean-up, which could be undertaken. The Hudson's Bay Company was approached for permission to clear brush on its large reserve. Volunteer manpower was necessary to manage the relief program because the Relief Officer's staff was inadequate. This was provided by the relatively new Edmonton Welfare Association, which on this occasion apparently coordinated the forces of "fifty separate churches, charities, labor unions and other groups of public spirited citizens." By December 29 more than 200 men were employed clearing the reserve and other vacant lots; owners of wooded property were canvassed to offer clearing projects for the "large number of respectable poor in the city" at the cost of a small fee payable to the city.

But immediately the kinds of problems city officials and the more doubtful onlookers had anticipated would arise from what they took to be a generous intervention in the labour marketplace did occur, if not critically, at least enough to cause resentful comment. The "street walkers of other cities" were said to be attracted by Edmonton's benevolent program along with the legitimately unemployed. The number of claimants swelled and the city commissioners began requiring signed statements about length of residence in Edmonton, identity of latest employers and length of employment in the six months previous: that is, contrary to the Unemployed League's demands, the city reasserted the concept of charity only to the deserving poor. Street parades organized by the League, but blamed on I.W.W. organizers, were outlawed for those receiving civic employment. By New Year's Eve the outstanding accomplishment of finding relief work for 454 at five hours a day for 30 cents an hour (nine dollars for a six day week) produced another worry. This was large-scale relief which, taking into account sundry expenses like the cost of the teams of horses involved, would within four weeks use up the $25,000 granted by City Council. Where would more work of this sort be found as unemployment statistics continued to rise? Should it be provided? How much money should the city devote to this sort of program?

In fact, although the city found no permanent solution and reduced the number of hours of work provided in January and February, 1914, the number of men given work escalated prodigiously, hundreds were provided with meals and beds, and far more families than usual were supplied with groceries, fuel and clothing. The city consciously rejected the alternative practised in St. Louis, for example, judging the procedure of ordering the unemployed out of the city "unintelligent and inhuman."[40] Lest all these measures seem barely minimal and temporary, and forced by the show of desperate solidarity on the part of the unemployed, it must be recalled that the citizens would have considered them remarkable in the light of the traditional reluctance to take regular responsibility for the welfare of the poor. The civic response was full of potential import for the future of the city organism.

It is significant as well that in this crisis the E.T. and L.C. was involved as an agent of the city rather than of the dispossessed, whatever the extent of members' sympathies. Through labour representatives in the politics of the city, the E.T. and L.C. had become a somewhat respectable urban institution. James East was identified as a labour alderman; in December the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners secretary, J. A. Kinney, was successful in his aldermanic campaign with E.T. and L.C. backing. S. A. Gordon Barnes, an insurance broker, was an appreciated and respected labour representative on the public school board. East in particular pressed the position of working people as he saw it in Council debates. Early in 1913 he battled for universal adult male suffrage in civic elections in the face of a campaign spearheaded by Short to impose greater restrictions on the recent concession of tenant voting. The source of controversy was the municipal election of 1912 during which, according to Short, "men demanded the right to vote who had no claim," but since their qualifications could no longer be determined as easily as if ownership of landed property were required, there was no effective means for screening out transients and visitors; there was great opportunity for abuse. East, supported only by Alderman G. H. May, saw the problem as the city assessor's wilful practice of leaving as many as two or three thousand tenants off the voters' list who should have been on. Short, supported by the other aldermen, proposed to lengthen the residence requirements for tenants and grant the vote only to those legitimate tenants who applied in writing.

East, May and the E.T. and L.C. won a rare partial victory in this case, when the Council's request for a charter amendment along the lines favoured by Short was rejected by the provincial legislature. The influence of the E.T. and L.C. and its politicians was, however, indirect. The more significant opposition came from the Attorney General, C. W. Cross, at one time Short's law partner.[41] In this provincial election year, Cross and his Liberal Party had special reason to be courting the support of working people. The connection between civic and provincial politics was very clear in the campaigns leading to the April 17 election, particularly on the north side. There the allegiance of the populous east end was heavily stressed.

Liberal candidates Cross and A. G. MacKay launched their most furious effort at the east end. Mass meetings there apparently drew from 2,000 to 3,000 people, perhaps in part because some were advertised as "Monster Labor Rallies" to which "every working man in the city is invited." At the meetings every effort was made to link the recent Workmen's

Compensation Act, the Building Trades Protection Act, the Eight Hour Law, and a fortnightly wage pay schedule in the Miners' Act, among others, with the benevolence of the Liberal government and particularly Attorney General Cross, toward the working man. "The first man in the province to benefit from the Workmen's Compensation Act" was paraded before several mass meetings to show off his amputated arm and to give public thanks to the attorney general for all the Act's benefits. Alderman East joined the campaign, dwelling on his former occupation as a miner in Colorado and Australia, and claiming that the Workmen's Compensation Act made him a Liberal on coming to Alberta. The attorney general's own newspaper, the Edmonton Capital, crudely pounded out the Liberal theme in a section entitled "With the Wage Earners" edited by "Pro le Taire". Admirable worker solidarity, argued "Pro", should not dissipate simply because there were no avowedly labour candidates, but should be used, "while you are waiting to control the reigns of government with your own hands, to make the best use of the material to hand," that is, to vote Liberal. For the future, the candidates hinted at universal minimum wage and eight hour day laws.[42]

The Conservative candidates, W. A. Griesbach and A. F. Ewing, saw the Liberal campaign differently, but not differently enough to take the debate away from the ground established by the Liberals. While they attacked the Liberals for corrupt abuse of the "foreign" east end vote, they perhaps only strengthened the impression that Edmonton voters were polarized and that Cross was the friend of east end residents. The Capital came back with decisive personality characterizations. Little could be done about Ewing, who had cultivated a degree of popularity in the east end himself, other than to scoff at his Napoleonic glower and to deplore his speeches which went down "like a long, sour draught of buttermilk." But Griesbach was a tempting and symbolic target, one who held a long-standing reputation for representing one part of the city better than the other. He was pilloried therefore for his military ambitions and his aristocratic and British affectations:

> ...he is almost sure to be a colonel and enter on the life of what the society editress calls lending a touch of color to the gray scene. That is what militia colonels are partly intended for....One of the sights of Edmonton is the major walking to his office of a morning and lending a Bond street touch to Jasper avenue on the way. Picadilly coat, trouser turned up - fog in Downing Street, don't you know - briar puffing, and the bull-dog toddling behind.

This image was lent a touch of futility by the quip: "When he dies they will put on his tombsone: 'The only place for which I was not a candidate.'"[43]

In the end only Cross won on the north side for the Liberals; MacKay, however, barely missed overcoming his association with the scandal and corruption revealed in court cases against other members of the government in which he had recently participated in Ontario. Ewing edged him out, but Griesbach was soundly beaten despite leading all candidates at one west end poll: altogether the Cross campaign was remarkable for what it nearly accomplished on MacKay's behalf by concentrating on the deprived of the east end. Much of that emphasis can be recognized as artificially stimulated: Cross was not trading off west end for east end support, but merely concentrating on a substantial east end victory to add to significant support he and MacKay already had in the west end.[44] But the resulting perceptions added to the tenant voting issue to create a profitable field for cultivation by certain civic politicians.

It should at least be mentioned in passing that, save for the brief effort to maintain a senior south side school superintendent, there was not a whisper of aggressive loyalty in a political sense to the dissolved city of Strathcona. When it was reported that the federal post office would retain the postal name Strathcona for the south side, south side Alderman J. G. Tipton objected: "Amalgamation was consummated for business reasons, because we on the south side wanted to share in the prestige that we realized would come to us when once part of the great city. It is not the desire of the people on the south side to keep the old name."[45] South siders found themselves responding during the civic election campaign to different divisions and emotions generated across the river. In that campaign the opponents of the administration deliberately brought together the financial difficulties of the city with the supposed east end grievances in a way which highlighted Edmonton's peculiar dilemma.

The alternative response to the approach developed by Mayor Short and the majority on Council during the year received its impetus in the east end (a term used generally to include the north-east and even sometimes the far north more broadly). Unsuccessful, as they probably expected to be, in their attempt to impress City Council with the wisdom of their recommendation of an elective commission form of government, the members of the Civic (sometimes "Clean Civic") Government League reorganized at the end of October, immediately adopting resolutions opposed to the policies of "the Short administration." At the same time a new organization, the East Edmonton Municipal Association, with some representation from the well-to-do Highlands district far to the east, began advocating the candidacy for mayor of real estate businessman W. J. Magrath, especially in search of improved services throughout the east end. Magrath had, however, campaigned in 1912 against both Short and Joe Clarke, now involved in the Civic Government League, and Short's majority in that year of unparalleled prosperity had been far more than necessary to overcome Magrath's and Clarke's votes combined. When the Civic Government League raised the possibility of the candidacy of real estate businessman W. J. McNamara, it seemed clear that only one of Magrath or McNamara should campaign against Short. Negotiations led in mid-November to the candidacy of McNamara, much to the displeasure of Joe Clarke, who thought Magrath the kind of candidate who would take more support away from Short. That it was the beginning of a significantly east end campaign was illustrated by the fifty-three delegates of the east or north-east who began the process of selecting aldermanic candidates. The report of the platform and resolution committee, adopted unanimously by the League, was unequivocal:

> We submit that the record of Edmonton municipal administrators would justify the conclusion that the portion of the city bounded generally by Kinistino avenue, the boulevard, the fair ground and the river, is not in the same city as such sections of the city

> as Hardisty and Eighth, Capitol Hill and 42nd Street and other famed sections which have never been cursed with improperly constructed and operated incinerators, open dumps, dirty streets and lanes, and other pests and breeders of disease, with dissatisfaction and loss of property values in the discriminated-against sections.[46]

By the date of the annual civic mass meeting, November 21, the League's candidates were in place, including Joe Clarke, who scored a victory of sorts by successfully nominating W. J. Magrath as civic meeting chairman. Mayor Short was of course the principal speaker, outlining his administration's approach to continuing utility extensions, to the issue of the water supply, to the debt and its financing, to the accounting chaos and inefficiency he claimed to have inherited. At that very meeting McNamara set the tone and direction of his campaign. On the financial question, for example, McNamara suggested no new program, but criticized Short himself for allegedly "dilly-dallying" with London financiers, for allegedly failing to ensure that a Kleinworts representative sign the first agreement, and for allowing Council to believe that agreement was sound. If the mayor was going to label the city's situation chaotic, with the strategy of declaring his superior solutions, then McNamara would assign responsibility for the chaos to Short himself rather than to his predecessors. With little variation, and disregarding Short's answers to his charges, McNamara maintained the same attack until election day. Short, he added later, was unable to sell the latest civic debentures to the extent of $1,650,000 because he was discredited in the London financial community. City departments were demoralized and disorganized rather than reorganized by

Short's measures which were held to have created uncertainty and animosity among civic employees. He implied that Short favoured the Pelican gas deal because he was improperly influenced by directors in the company, one of whom conveniently set himself up as a target by becoming an aldermanic candidate.[47]

This personal style of attack was especially suited to aldermanic candidate Clarke, who "poured forth a torrent of oratory which simply dazed the reporters and raised his adherents to a pitch of frenzy" with his charges. He emphasized Short's effort to get a charter amendment to permit secret meetings of Council; he argued Short was responsible for a taxation policy which allowed banks and big corporations downtown to escape payments toward improvements in outlying residential districts after those residents had first helped to improve the downtown sections; he claimed an esteemed south side aldermanic candidate favourable to Short, R. B. Douglas, had purchased land options along the proposed Rabbit Hill water route; and more of the same sort. Personal attacks were gradually embellished with sectional identifications. Clarke referred to the dissolution of the parks department and the reduction of its program as further discrimination against the east end, which was made to do without an anticipated new park. McNamara repeatedly compared the lack of adequate lighting, street car service and paving in the crowded east end district of Gallagher Flats with the street car line extensions along west end Athabasca Avenue and the paving of west end 42nd Street "where there is hardly a human being." This kind of comparison helped, of course, to establish the theme of the people (mainly in the east end) opposed to the developers (mainly in the west end). A Civic Government League candidate, Dr. A. L. Campbell, "criticized the lighting facilities in the east end of town, but remarked that the citizens there could probably find their way by the sense of smell, since they had the incinerator on the one side and the packing plants on the other." The popular will was his solution, by institution of universal adult suffrage. "It is not my fight," declared a McNamara advertisement, "it is a battle of the people." Both Clarke and McNamara were adept at applying the conspiracy theory to signs of adversity: that all three newspapers came out with varied intensity against McNamara was to them a conspiracy of the press against the interests of the people. The Pelican gas project, fumed McNamara, was "being forced down the throats of the people by a bunch of highbrows from the west end."[48]

By December 3, McNamara's slate was augmented by the specific support of organized labour. E.T. and L.C. candidate J. A. Kinney joined a McNamara rally and continuing alderman James East began actively campaigning for McNamara. Kinney's appeal strengthened the approach taken by McNamara's forces: Kinney would "represent the people" in opposition to a Council which had in 1913 supposedly represented financial interests. The Edmonton Journal, which took the strongest stand among the three newspapers in support of Short, soon recognized the danger in the public image being created of Short. Editorials attempted to minimize the distinctions by emphasizing that almost everyone in the city was a "worker"; only a few were "idlers". They argued as well that Short's administration of continuing utility construction projects was actually a boon to those who found employment on them. But the kind of criticism made of McNamara tended if anything only to emphasize the distinctions between a man of the people and a responsible leader like Short occupying some more lofty plane. With his "appeals to the prejudices of one section of the city against the other," remarked Short, McNamara was demonstrating that he had "few of the qualities that make for success in so responsible a post." The "stimulation of class feeling" was a tactic "worthy of a village politician" but an approach "quite out of place in the speeches of one who seeks to administer the immense interests that Edmonton controls as a civic corporation." Short himself was trapped into more blatant contrasts in his responses to the opposition campaign. The elective commission form of government and the populist measures of recall, referendum and initiative were not only American in origin, they were to Short worthless panaceas: it was the type of man in leading positions which counted. Anyone who could not see the reasons for dissolving the architect's and parks departments "does not know what he is talking about." He would like to conduct his campaign meetings calmly and rationally, "just as men would talk across the table of a board of directors." And finally he linked his criticisms of untrue rumours spread against him with the personage of Joseph Adair, whom he accused of making a similar corrupt attempt behind the scenes as he had the previous year to "gain control of the administration of the city," as though the opposition was altogether illegitimate.[49]

By election day both sides had gone to extremes. McNamara offered reduced street car fares to university students and argued for the investment of civic sinking funds in loans to working men rather than to large construction projects as part of a final flurry of promises to the ordinary man. His version of the benefits of an elective commission form of government, which he would test among the citizens by plebiscite, was that it would prevent "big politicians" from spending $50,000 to get into office to take $500,000 out of the city while the ordinary citizen with limited resources could not afford the campaign cost of defeating them.

Short himself was subdued at the end, stressing as his advertisements had throughout his "steady" and "careful" approach to the promotion of civic efficiency. But the Rev. R. G. Stewart of Robertson Presbyterian Church possessed no such restraint in a sermon on "Civic Suicide" the day before the election. Splashed across the front page of the Edmonton Bulletin on election day, it "handled the subject without gloves," as the reported described it, and in the process divided good and evil in a precise definition of the very categories (albeit with different connotations) the McNamara campaigners had striven so assiduously to establish. "There is a man offering himself to the public of the city this year," Stewart thundered, referring no doubt to Clarke, "who was reported last year in every daily newspaper - and it was not contradicted - as having made the statement that in public life character didn't count." Such a man would deliver the city to harlots, he implied, just as in Seattle, where "the whole city reeked with people of that vile class." He went on to deliver a venomous shot against the E.T. and L.C. candidate, not on a personal basis, but because the E.T. and L.C. would not permit membership to the Ministerial Association while accepting bartenders, a sign (among others) of the irreligion which must prevail in the E.T. and L.C. Union men had offended him by carrying signs during the construction of Robertson church claiming that the church imposed long hours and poor wages. And he associated with the E.T. and L.C. a street corner orator on behalf of the working class who, he was told, "had never known what it was to do an honest day's toil." His appeal, in contrast to all of this, for "the man who is willing to give a part of himself and his life for the community" could easily seem to differentiate the washed from the unwashed, and his sentiments were reported also to have issued in milder form from a Methodist clergyman.[50]

Stewart was no doubt reacting to what he perceived as unfair vilification of Mayor Short. The results, which gave McNamara the mayoralty by a mere 236 votes, or about three percent of the total vote, demonstrated pretty clearly the success of the campaign waged by McNamara and his aldermanic supporters. Although Short captured the west end by a large margin, and had the advantage in a closer vote on the south side, McNamara won a landslide majority in the more heavily populated east end and north-east polls. Four of the five aldermen elected had campaigned with McNamara: Joe Clarke, James Kinney, Dr. A. L. Campbell and south sider Rice Sheppard all showed east end strength. The only supporter of Short to win, R. B. Douglas, did so on the strength of overwhelming south side support; all the others suffered considerably from the lesser number of voters in the west end than in the east.[51]

This was a populist victory, to be sure, but the east-west residential cleavage should not be allowed to obscure the objectives of those who supported McNamara, Clarke, Kinney, Campbell and Sheppard. No candidate ever recommended cutting off all civic expenditure; no candidate tried to become popular by advocating tax reductions. The last mass meeting in McDougall church brought powerful ovations for both McNamara and Short, yet was marred by neither violence nor shouting.[52] One must conclude that the urban commitment to further development remained universal: in that sense the divisions which were politically expressed were contrived. The choice offered voters was to manage that development efficiently in order to keep it going without incident, or to blame past problems on key leaders and remove them - again in order to keep the development going. There were no guarantees in either case, but the majority of citizens wished not to acknowledge their part in the collective responsibility of the urban community, and accepted the analysis which identified a scapegoat in the prevailing leadership: Short and the prosperous beneficiaries he was made to represent in the public mind. Attacks which might normally be ignored, and which apparently were in 1912, were heeded, not for love of fundamental reform, but for the opportunity they gave to evade responsibility or basic change for another year. By rejecting Short and most of his supporters among the aldermanic candidates, a sufficient number of electors decided to accept, whether or not they believed, that he was to blame for the year's problems, and that the means to their solution was to eliminate their perpetrator.[53]

It was an intriguing end (or beginning of an end) to a critical year in municipal administration for Edmonton. There was very little debate during the election campaign which was not related to the central issue; the interesting exception was a concerted and successful effort on the part of women's organizations, coordinated by the local Council of Women, to elect Mrs. E. L. (Jennie) Hill to the School Board.[54] The quality of hospital or social welfare services played no part whatever. Instead the single problem was to come to terms with an insistent crisis in the accepted urban project of expansion. Doing nothing, or carrying on as if nothing had changed, as the citizens would eventually discover, was no escape from impossible commitments made years before. The urban community was sustained by its expansive dream; this particular election expressed unease about the unavoidable consequences.[55]

Footnotes

1. E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 140-143; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), February 11, 1913. The site was bounded at the south end by 101A Avenue (or Rice Street), at the north end by 104 Avenue (or McKenzie Avenue), on the east by 99 Street (Queen's Avenue) and on the west by 100 Street (McDougall Avenue).

2. Dale, "The Role," 142-144; Edmonton Capital (EC), January 10, 1913; EB, February 26, 28, March 3, 1913.

3. EB, March 5, 11, 19, 20, 24-27, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 143-144.

4. EB, March 27, 28, 1913. The mayor had hinted at this state of affairs, but with little effect, as early as January in a council meeting at which he let slip the advice of a bank official to eliminate expansive projects because the city's "financial situation is worse than it has been for 25 years." See Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 14, 1913. A few days earlier he had characterized Edmonton's financial adventures as very nearly criminal; EC, January 11, 1913.

5. EB and EJ, March 29, 31, 1913; EC, December 6, 1913; John P. Day, "Fire Hall #1, and the Civic Annex" (Unpublished manuscript, Edmonton Parks and Recreation Department, ca. 1976), 138.

6. EJ, January 28, 30, 1913; EB, February 14, 25, 26, 1913.

7. EJ, June 19, July 3, 19, November 22, 1913; EB, September 10, October 28, December 4, 6, 1913.

8. EJ, July 19, 23, September 26, November 22, 1913; EB, November 30, December 3, 4, 1913.

9. EB, September 18, December 1, 3, 10, 1913; EJ, July 3, August 18, November 22, 1913.

10. EJ, January 29, February 5, May 8, 12, 26, June 12, July 17, 1913; EB, March 20, 1913.

11. EJ, July 3, 4, August 20, September 10, 1913; EB, December 3, 6, 1913.

12. Dale, "The Role," 49-50; EC, January 8, 1913; EJ, January 14, May 1, 1913; EB, March 19, November 13, December 3, 10, 1913; A.F.J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in A.F.J. Artibise, ed., Town and City (Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981).

13. EJ, January 14, 28, 29, 31, February 5, 6, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 28-32, 51.

14. EB, January 17, 1913; EJ, January 29, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 15-21, 32-41, 553.

15. EJ, January 16, July 17, 1913; EB, March 12, 15, 19, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 106-110, 115.

16. EJ, January 23, May 7, 10, June 11, July 3, November 22, 1913; EB, March 15, 21, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 70-79.

17. EJ, January 4, 21, 28, 29, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 90.

18. Dale, "The Role," 91-100; EB, March 26, 1913. This reaction supports the argument of A.F.J. Artibise in "Boosterism."

19. EC, January 8, April 2, 1913; EB, February 14, 26, April 9, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 94-100. Even City Solicitor J. C. Bown judged the gift proposition valid, drawing on the precedent of parkland donations.

20. City of Edmonton Ninth Annual Financial and Departmental Report for Fourteen Months Ended December 31st, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 64-65, 104-105; EJ, February 1, November 22, December 26, 1913; EB, March 5, December 5, 1913; EC, December 6, 1913.

21. EJ, January 29, February 3, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 45-46.

22. EJ, January 29, June 17, December 20, 23, 31, 1913; EB, February 12, March 19, December 3, 4, 8, 9, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 46.

23. EJ, January 21, 29, April 18, May 1, 2, June 12, July 14, 1913; EB, February 14, March 15, 21, April 4, September 5, 1913.

24. EB, December 5, 1913; Tony Cashman, Edmonton's Catholic Schools (Edmonton, Edmonton Roman Catholic Separate School District No. 7, 1977), 83-86.

25. Day, "Fire Hall #1," 123; Police Department report in City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 253-260; EJ, January 1, June 11, 1913; EC, January 1, 8, 1913; EB, February 14, March 1, September 9, 10, 1913.

26. C. A. McGugan, The First Fifty Years (Edmonton, University of Alberta Hospital, ca. 1964), 6-7; EJ, January 2, 18, 22, 23, 29, February 1, July 23, 1913.

27. City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 199-205; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 122-123; EJ, January 1, 4, 27, May 13, September 27; EB, September 17, 1913.

28. City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 258-265; David E. Lysne, "Welfare in Alberta, 1905-1936" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966), 24, 27, 31-52; John H. Taylor, "The Urban West: Public Welfare and a Theory of Urban Development," in A. R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson, ed., Cities in the West (Ottawa, National Museums of Man, 1975), 298-305; EJ, January 27, 29, February 1, 5, June 9, 1913; EC, January 9, 1913; EB, February 26, 1913.

29. Taylor, "The Urban West," 298-305; City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 258-265; EJ, January 3, 29, September 6, October 18, November 22, December 31, 1913.

30. EJ, January 14, August 20, 1913; EB, September 5, 11, 1913; Dale, "The Role," 124-133; City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 247-248; 1912 and 1913 correspondence, Edmonton Parks and Recreation Records, Edmonton City Archives (ECA), especially L. L. Fuller to Alderman J. G. Tipton, June 10, 1912; Assistant

Secretary Asbury, Parks Committee, to R. B. Chadwick, Parks Commission Secretary, July 3, 1912; Von Aueberg to Parks Committee, September 26, October 23, 1912 and January 8, 1913; Morrell and Nichols to Parks Committee, December 3, 1912; Annual Report of the Parks Commission of Edmonton, December 30, 1912.

31. EJ, January 29, June 10, August 19, 1913.

32. EJ, January 29, August 19, 1913.

33. Canada, Labour Gazette, vol. 14, no. 1 (July, 1913), 48; EJ, May 2, September 1, 2, October 28, 1913.

34. W. R. Askin, "Labor Unrest in Edmonton and District and Its Coverage by the Edmonton Press 1918-1919" (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973), 20, 53-54; A. Ross McCormack, Reformers, Rebels, and Revolutionaries (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977), 110-111; EJ, January 29, November 22, December 20, 31, 1913; EB, December 8, 20, 1913.

35. Robert Babcock, Gompers in Canada (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974), 139-142, 146; Askin, "Labor Unrest," 12-14; EJ, January 21, November 22, 1913; EB, March 1, September 5, 20, 1913.

36. Askin, "Labor Unrest," 4-6; EJ, January 21, February 4, September 27, December 20, 1913; EB, September 27, 1913.

37. Labour Gazette, vol. 13 (1912-1913), 962-963, 1070, 1203; vol. 14 (1913-1914), 143, 940-941; EJ, January 20, 28, September 3, 27, 1913; EB, January 16, February 25, March 12, September 9, 27, October 25, November 13, December 8, 1913. That this sort of development of trade union tactics in boom-time was not unique in Canada to Edmonton is demonstrated in Bryan Palmer, A Culture in Conflict (Montreal, McGill/Queen's University Press, 1979), 199-233, an account of the Hamilton situation; or for Toronto in Wayne Roberts, "Artisans, Aristocrats and Handymen: Politics and Unionism Among Toronto Skilled Building Trades Workers, 1896-1914," Labour/Le Travailleur, vol. 1 (1976), 92-121.

38. EB, December 10, 1913; Labour Gazette, vol. 14 (December, 1913), 676.

39. McCormack, Reformers, 110-111; EB, December 20, 1913; EJ, December 27, 1913.

40. City of Edmonton, Ninth Annual ...Report, 262; McCormack, Reformers, 110-111; EJ, December 24, 27, 29, 31, 1913; EC, December 31, 1913.

41. Labour Gazette, vol. 14 (1913-1914), 784; EB, February 12, March 1, 3, 10, 15, 28, 31, April 1, October 25, 28, November 2, December 4, 1913; EC, April 1, 1913.

42. EB, March 21, April 1, 4, 8, 12, 14, 1913; EC, April 5, 14, 1913.

43. EC, April 5, 12, 1913; EJ, April 12, 14, 15, 1913.

44. EJ, January 29, April 15, 17, 18, 1913; EB, March 27, April 8, 9, 18, 19, 1913; EC, April 18, 1913.

45. EJ, January 7, 1913.

46. EB, September 18, October 28, November 13, 1913; John P. Day, "Edmonton Civic Politics 1891-1914," Urban History Review, no. 3-77 (February, 1978), 66.

47. EJ, November 22, 27, 28, 1913; EC, November 27, December 3, 1913; EB, December 1, 2, 4, 8, 1913.

48. EC, November 27, December 3, 1913; EB, December 2, 3, 5, 1913.

49. EJ, November 28, December 4, 6, 1913; EB, December 1, 2, 4, 6, 1913.

50. EC, December 4, 1913; EB and EJ, December 8, 1913.

51. EC, December 9, 1913; EJ, December 9, 1913; EB, December 9, 10, 1913.

52. Short's statements about the massive extent of work in 1913 went unchallenged: EJ, November 22, 1913; EC, November 27, 1913; EB, December 5, 6, 1913.

53. A long editorial in EB, December 10, 1913 recognized that Short became the scapegoat, but limited the cause to the discontent of those with particular grievances.

54. EB, December 3, 5, 6, 9, 1913.

55. Edmonton's situation in 1913 adds another dimension to the multi-faceted nature of "civic reform" in Canada suspected by H. V. Nelles and Christopher Armstrong in "'The Great Fight for Clean Government'," Urban History Review, no. 2-76 (October, 1976), 50-66.

Chapter 16: Voluntary Associations.

There was a new club in 1913 which summed up the frantic times: the Ad Club. Three hundred businessmen attended its first luncheon in February determined to dispense with dignity, in the words of the luncheon program, in "a nervous little effort to break the ice and get wet clear through with the honey dew of Optimism and Good Fellowship." The motto adopted by the club was unequivocal: "Organized Optimism". The entertainment was slapstick. When civic officials began to be nervous about Edmonton's future, Industrial Commissioner Hall clearly gave first priority to the urban collectivity in an outline to the Ad Club of "Things We Can Do For Edmonton," such as reduce rents and prices of factory sites. He advocated "unselfishness, and working for the good of the whole city" as the antidote to the city's ills. In the fall a dwindling number of enthusiasts looked hopefully at 7,000 feet of film about the promising north country. The model for all of this, with "boosting" unashamedly the operative term, was the international (American) Association of Ad Men with which the local organization was affiliated. Delegates were sent to the annual convention in Baltimore.[1]

Other changes in the character of Edmonton's voluntary associations were on the whole more subtle. In every field there were more of them, and their first purposes were collectively more diverse than in 1906. For the well-to-do, the Edmonton Club and the Canadian Club carried on as before. Prominent south siders briefly preserved the memory of a bygone community leadership in the Strathcona Club. The "height of fashion" was displayed at the Edmonton Country Club, situated on the north bank of the North Saskatchewan River just west of the city. When a fire destroyed the Country Club's temporary quarters, which included some rooms for the convenience of overnighting members, the Club simply got an earlier start than anticipated on a permanent clubhouse. Even the temporary building had been occupied already by a paid steward and his family. The same kind of clientele, 400 strong, attended the opening "brilliant ball" of the Edmonton Canoe Club in December. The 250 original stockholders underwrote the construction of a rustic clubhouse not far north on the Sturgeon River. Besides sponsoring participation in every kind of organized sports, this club intended to provide facilities for the more genteel activities of tennis and boating, as well as to stage frequent dances like the first one.[2]

The organization of entertainment for the prosperous was matched by organization of professionals and businessmen for regulation of their livelihoods. The Board of Trade carried the collective urban load for coordination of Edmonton enterprise, but each profession and business category was protected by its own association and linked for broader coverage to provincial and national bodies. All the professional associations of 1906 remained, as did the Retail Merchants' Protective Association, and to them were added the special products of boom-time construction: a Builders' Exchange and a long list of specialized contractors' associations. But there was another significant kind of addition by 1913: a number of professional associations which organized women. A large proportion of the 700 teachers attending the fourth annual convention of the Alberta Educational Association held in Edmonton in March were women. Other professional associations were more explicitly feminine: the Canadian Women's Press Club, the Business Women's Club, the Victoria Order of Nurses, the Nurses' Club and the Graduate Nurses' Association. While it was perhaps true, as one speaker assured the Alberta Educational Association about teachers, that the status of these professions was rising "financially, socially and professionally," these traditional objectives in the new professional women's groups cut across the women's movement, with such broad purposes as women's suffrage.[3]

Although women's organizations were steadfastly ignored in the listings of Henderson's Edmonton Directory, they were by 1913 important urban institutions, both for their proliferation and for their combination of objectives on behalf of women and the city. In 1906 there had still been a notable distinction between the organizational activities of men, staged in an urban setting, and the activities of women, for the most part set in the home even when groups of them collected. By 1913, however, the urban community was significant for women as well. It is an interesting question which was more the impetus for this intersection: an impulse to improve the participation of women in society, or the more general imperative of the urban commitment. A case for the latter can be made by giving attention to the several concerns of the women's groups.

Some were, as we have seen, dedicated to establishing the place in the urban mass of a certain few professions: nursing, teaching, and journalism. Associations of women continued to help maintain health and education services for the entire community: Royal Alexandra and Strathcona Hospital Aids, the local societies of the Victorian Order of Nurses and the St. John's Ambulance Association for health, and the Robertson College Guild for education. Certain kinds of social welfare, as we shall see in detail later, were provided by the Young Women's Christian Association and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. The Edmonton Humane Society and the Edmonton Branch, Women's Art Association of Canada, the Women's Musical Club, the Edmonton Rifle Club and the Ladies' Curling Club, all bespoke special group interests. A Consumers' League hoped to regulate buying conditions for the whole community of consumers. The two-year old Women's Canadian Club may have specialized in teas and luncheons, but it claimed the same objectives as the men's Canadian Club: to foster a sense of Canadian patriotism. Visiting lawyer John Ewart emphasized nationalism, and the Women's Canadian Club president, Mrs. Arthur (Emily) Murphy, set it into a British context at one November luncheon attended by 250 women in the Empire auditorium. The conjunction with women's interests was neatly demonstrated by the Club's endorsement at the same meeting of Mrs. Jessie Hill's decidedly feminist candidacy for the School Board. On the other hand, the Daughters of Norway, the Daughters and Maids of England, and the Daughters of the Empire obviously felt the value of collective adjustment to the new environment.[4]

There had, of course, been long continuity for many established organizations. By 1913 there were fully a dozen Edmonton chapters of the Daughters of the Empire, with their mixed imperial and benevolent pursuits. Two Masonic lodges for women persisted, along with three Rebekah lodges and one each of Lady Maccabees of the World and Companions of the Forest. Church women's societies multiplied with the population. For many of these, it would undeniably have been true that feminine companionship was the first purpose. The Canadian Women's Press Club, though first of all a journalists' and writers' association of some thirteen active members, was actually a heavily tea oriented group, which designated the second Monday of each month between four and five-thirty p.m. as social time. Apart from seeing to details of their own comfort in meeting together, they recorded little external action beyond sending Christmas cards to Indian schools in Alberta.[5]

On the other hand, some of the organizations intended specifically to advance the position of women proved in the process to be inadvertently knitting together the urban fabric. The Alberta Women's Association (simply the University Women's Club of Edmonton renamed) intended basically to enhance the prospects of women students by promoting a "cultural and wholesome" social life for all and a scholarship each year to the best freshman achiever. On one occasion in 1912 they had brought to the attention of Strathcona Council the unsatisfactory "cleanliness, ventilation, overcrowded conditions in the Strathcona streetcars, plus that horrid word EXPECTORATION...." Some of their meetings were devoted to special speakers on such subjects as dreams, but some of their womanly work added to the civic programs of others. They bought books for the University History Department and the Y.W.C.A.; they helped to sponsor a woman candidate for the school board; they worked for the appointment of women to the University Senate; they initiated English language classes for "foreigners".[6]

Thirty-five societies belonged to the local branch of the National Council of Women. Perhaps their most significant stand for women in 1913 was to arrange a campaign for Mrs. Jennie Hill to contest a seat on the school board; simultaneously of course they were contributing to an urban service.[7] Ironically, no major suffrage campaign was undertaken by the multitude of women's groups of Edmonton in 1913. It took the initiative of a mixed gathering (including Alderman and Mrs. East and the Classics professor, Dr. W. H. Alexander) to launch the Edmonton Equal Franchise League with Alexander as president, and to decide to invite Nellie McClung to address the first promotional meeting.[8] Women's organizations in Edmonton began with diverse particular projects; even the Local Council of Women built on that base, having to redirect women's attentions to their own social status.

Women also participated in mixed organizations dedicated to the welfare of the poor, ensuring that women in particular were cared for. The "ladies' council" of the United Aids agency which coordinated the assistance of Edmonton organizations to "families with sickness or bereavement" took on the task of finding a suitable building to provide a place of abode for "the working girls of the city." The same agency sanctioned a short term loan to the new Edmonton City Mission for a woodyard project which was intended to raise money for other programs of assistance to the needy by selling wood. Though the Mission soon floundered into a sizable deficit, women had become involved in it as well, organizing fund-raising concerts. Not that the failure of one charitable effort prevented other experiments. In the fall of the year J. S. Woodsworth of Winnipeg, in his role as secretary to the Canadian Welfare League, had succeeded in promoting an Edmonton Welfare Association to coordinate the work of church and other private agencies to avoid inefficiencies of overlapping services and to establish confidential coordination of assistance to improve it.[9]

Assistance was provided to newcomers for the most part by a different sort of organization, each identified by the old country source of its membership. Some occasionally referred to themselves explicitly as "benevolent societies", but even those which did not make a point of organizing the reception of immigrants nevertheless provided an essential adjustment service. For non-English language groups the work has already been outlined, save for the Edmonton Zionist society, a branch of Jewish community organization of international scope. Perhaps the most remarkable development by 1913, however, was the range of English-language associations which appeared, most of them related to British origins. The exception was the sudden burst into prominence of the Canadian-American Club, "its chief object the knitting together of the two largest branches of the Anglo-Saxon race." Though its 250 members could hold full membership only on the basis of the personal experience of American citizenship, a late November Thanksgiving banquet for 300 established its urban position in relation to other groups. Representatives of the civic and provincial governments attended, and representatives of the Canadian and Overseas clubs replied to toasts.[10]

The Overseas Club was merely one of some sixteen separate societies inspired by affection for the British Isles. It was clearly not only aliens who appreciated association with their own kind, but it was a condition of the immigration boom in Edmonton that even those of British origin (some not even recently) should find reason to create formal organizations. There was no doubt about the objectives of the Daughters of the Empire. Some clubs were characterized specifically as "benevolent" or "benefit" societies bent on assisting newcomers to get a start: the Sons of Scotland, for example, and the Daughters and Maids of the Empire. The ambitious purposes of the Imperial Home Reunion association were indicated in its very title, and in such advisory board decisions as approval of applications for full support in bringing seven families from the old country at considerable cost. The West of England association, among others, located work for new arrivals. In the Overseas Club rooms, various more specifically-designated organizations like the West of England Association and the Yorkshire Society of Edmonton conducted smokers and whist drives. The Northumberland and Durham Association had more than 100 members at its first annual banquet at the end of the year.[11]

Even those who reported an endless series of entertainments were preoccupied with the connection between the old and new situations. In an extreme example, perhaps, W. A. Griesbach joined a debate staged by the Sons of England on the position of the Englishman in Canada: "Does he hold the position he should do in the social and political life of the country?" The old and the new, tradition and opportunity, could even be contrasted in the Overseas Club debate of the apparently innocuous question: "Do people get more happiness out of life today, than they did one hundred years ago?" The Royal Society of St. George seemed, like so many others, to specialize in whist drives, but its entertainment was definitely planned with a concern in mind about the attendance of as many Englishmen and Welshmen and their descendants as possible. Since it advertised itself as "unsectarian and nonpolitical," there could be no doubt about its devotion to the comfort of a specific ethnic association within Edmonton. The Sons of Scotland, the St. Andrew's Society and the Caledonian Society had diversified interests in dances, concerts and collective forays into team sports. The Welsh church and the St. David's Society likewise prepared "entertainments" of Welsh flavour, especially on St. David's Day and for the children at Christmas time. What could be the intent of programs devised by the Gaelic Society of Edmonton, or the Edmonton Irish Association, or the Royal Neighbours, if not to celebrate persistent memories of old identities in a new and jumbled social setting.[12] All these activities could be interpreted in part as examples of resistance to the new urban community; but insofar as they brought the groups in contact with other elements of Edmonton's society, or as they reduced the tension of other accommodations to the new surroundings, they might also be seen as agencies of assimilation. They may even have done their share to modify the nature of the larger Edmonton community.

Little need be said of Edmonton's fraternities and sororities in 1913, not because they had declined, but merely because their activities had not changed since 1906. In number the "secret and benevolent societies", as they were labelled by Henderson's Directory, had expanded, mainly into additional chapters of the same institutions. Loyal Orange Lodges led the way with twelve chapters in Edmonton, not to mention two Ladies' Orange Lodges. Eight lodges of the "Independent" Order of Oddfellows together with three affiliated women's Rebekah chapters challenged Orange supremacy, but there were also five Masonic lodges, three of the Scottish Rite, two women's chapters and one of Royal Arch Masons. Eight chapters of the Orders of Foresters were divided into Independent, Ancient and Canadian contingents. A women's equivalent comprised only "Companions" of the Forest. The multiple establishment of lodge chapters held true as well for the Knights of Pythias, and nearly a dozen others continued to maintain themselves.

Although its defenders insisted that freemasonry was no mere ritual representation of medieval chivalry but a movement dedicated to human welfare, innovation was limited to such measures as inauguration of a new "Lodge Commercial" for those travelling businessmen wishing to meet on Saturday evenings. Otherwise ceremonial meetings, dances, whist drives and picnics occupied most of their time, although the Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association Lodges of Edmonton did raise money through a bazaar presumably for its beneficial services, and at least one Oddfellows' dance was staged to raise money from ticket sales for a hospital in a nearby rural district. Templars' entertainments differed little except to specialize in tea as a beverage and to sponsor a juvenile lodge. Some fraternities and sororities were simultaneously ethnic clubs, the Jewish B'nai Brith, for example, or the Sons of England, Sons of Scotland, Daughters and Maids of the Empire; but otherwise they carried on as did the others, providing comfortable enclaves in the conglomerate urban society. The Knights of Columbus represented a particular Christian denomination, but at the ceremonial induction of new members which packed the Empire Theatre, a standard illustration of the fraternal place in Edmonton was provided. Wilfrid Gariepy spoke on that occasion about "Catholic Citizenship", in his very title melding together the Catholic minority group identity with at least the urban context in which it operated. The fraternal style was demonstrated for the Edmonton public by an Alberta convention of perhaps 500 members of the Order of the Mystic Shrine who roamed the city in red turbans and colourful costumes, staged several unified parades, and climaxed the event with a grand ball.[13]

Large numbers of men found a different sort of fraternity in a relatively new institution: militia regiments. These had expanded and somewhat gained in stature since 1906. Part of this was due to W. A. Griesbach who, after serving as mayor of the city in 1907, was for a time less prominent in politics but more visible in a military role. The militia cavalry regiment of the 19th Alberta Dragoons, introduced to Edmonton with two squadrons in 1906, brought to the fore his training skills; by 1910 he was in command with the rank of major. In 1911 Griesbach lost the federal election campaign in Edmonton district; but, as the Conservative party formed the government, Griesbach fell heir to the patronage job. He promptly set about turning it to the advantage of the 19th Alberta Dragoons, whose officers and ranks he gave preference in filling civil service positions. 1913 was a typical peacetime year for the Dragoons, filled with drill and military smokers and the annual two week camp in Calgary, but Griesbach was evidently not content with the quality of the fellowship. He set about organizing a United Service Club for Edmonton veterans of the recognized military forces of the British Empire. Nor were the Dragoons any longer the only militia organization: since 1908 the initiative of four career imperial military officers had supported the training and sham battles of the infantry regiment known as the 101st Edmonton Fusiliers. Although the practical work of the regiment did not transcend emergency work searching for lost boys, it added Guards of Honor to occasions featuring government dignitaries, and Military Tattoos to the Edmonton Exhibition, all under the direction of Lt. Col. W. F. W. Carstairs, a career soldier whose imperial experience included a stint with the North-West Mounted Police and years in Africa. For the time being, the significance of the Dragoons and Fusiliers to Edmonton organization lay in the coordination of between 1,000 and 2,000 men, and the fraternity of those fairly regular smokers and the sergeants' and officers' messes.[14]

The booming population of Edmonton caused churches to multiply both in membership and in number. Edmonton had about seventy churches altogether in 1913. The majority were Presbyterian (eleven), Methodist (thirteen), Anglican (twelve), Roman Catholic (six), Baptist (six) and Lutheran (six), but others included the Jewish Hebrew Association, a Moravian church, a Welsh church, Gaelic services, a Church of God, a Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, a Christian Reformed Church, a Ruthenian Greek Catholic church, a Russian Greek Orthodox church, the Salvation Army, the Society of Friends, Christian Science, and assorted mission organizations outside those denominations.[15] There was more diversity within the larger denominations: the Lutherans were differentiated into German, Norwegian and Swedish churches; Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches both included Ruthenian congregations; Holy Rosary Roman Catholic parish was explicitly Polish; one each of the Baptist churches were for Swedish-language people, for German-language people and for Blacks. Several Roman Catholic churches featured regular French language services. So the establishment of ethnically distinct institutions was emerging in the realm of churches at the same time as the numbers of members in the originally dominant denominations was increasing.

As though it had something to do with their evangelical efforts, annual meetings of the congregations were universally treated to reports highlighting membership and financial growth. First Baptist Church membership had grown by a third in one year; its monetary contributions by two-thirds. The German Baptists met in a new church. Holy Trinity Anglican church on the south side built a new $40,000 church to seat 650, furnished in "quarter cut oak" and bearing a 1,200 pound bell. McDougall Methodist church issued a self-congratulatory financial statement. Despite launching a new mission congregation, Metropolitan Methodist church gained 100 members in a year. Regular Sunday School attendance at all Methodist churches in the city totalled more than 2,000. St. Anthony's Roman Catholic church on the south side topped 1,100 souls, with more coming. The old Roman Catholic Church of the Immaculate Conception would be left to the French sector of the congregation; non-French speaking adherents witnessed the construction for them of a new $75,000 and 1,000 seat Church of the Sacred Heart meant to serve the numerous "Germans, Poles, Slavs, Hungarians, Bohemians" of the east end as well as the English speaking element there. To the north-east the 1,000 member parish of St. Francis of Assisi in the meat packing plant district threatened to burst the bonds of its church, only four years old. Downtown, the Reverend Dr. D. G. McQueen's First Presbyterian Church had for a year occupied an imposing and spacious brick building, costing $172,000 to construct and including an auditorium, lecture halls, Sunday School rooms and meeting rooms for various congregational organizations. Several new Presbyterian congregations originated in the outlying parts of Edmonton. Presbyterian mission halls and Sunday

Schools were opening on the southern edge of the city.[16]

Another index of church expansion was the success of church-sponsored colleges. The temporary spurt in denominational advanced education projects was the more remarkable given the simultaneous development of the provincial university. Yet the Methodist Alberta College continued popular, in part, no doubt, because of a unique curriculum which included far more than university level arts courses: a high school matriculation program, a commercial program, music and elocution. There were, moreover, several new institutions by 1913. Alberta College cooperated with Premier Rutherford in establishing the university, and obtained a site on the campus in 1909 on which a five-storey theological and residential college, Alberta College South, was soon constructed for a mighty $175,000. In 1913 it housed some 250 students, many if not most of them students at the university who found Alberta College South a convenient residence. A faltering Presbyterian effort had worked to strengthen Alberta College South. In 1910 the local Presbyterians began with their own theological college, known as Robertson College, located temporarily east of the university and supported by a shoestring budget. By 1913, supposedly on a temporary basis but actually until the 1925 amalgamation which created the United Church, Robertson College students took theological classes with Alberta College students under the tutorship of the faculties of both colleges. Elsewhere, the Roman Catholic Society of Jesus had responded to requests for a "classical and commercial college", and was ready with the opening of the Jesuit College in north-west Edmonton by September, 1913. Local Anglican leaders had for some years given their support to the private Westward Ho boys school; the creation of the University of Alberta stimulated plans for "St. Aidan's College and Hostel", which would have been an attempt to copy the tradition of English university colleges had not the war interrupted overseas fund raising.[17]

That the growth in standard congregations had little to do with a new spurt of evangelism is amply illustrated by a survey of their activities. These were for the most part unchanged since 1906. A similar range of organizations continued for the major Protestant denominations: men's clubs, women's organizations - both missionary leagues collecting "mites" to support far distant projects in alien lands as well as the normal "Ladies' Aids" under a variety of titles, and youth organizations (divided often into boys' and girls' clubs) proliferated. Indeed, the very normalcy of these arrangements might easily mask their significance which would perhaps be far more notable if it could be statistically demonstrated. Supposing sixty of the seventy congregations were so organized, there would be perhaps 200 church-based institutions providing common identifications and bases for action in Edmonton. Even granting each only a modest membership (and there is plenty of evidence that many of the groups had more than fifty members), there were still thousands of Edmontonians expressing collective wishes or making collective contributions in this way.

Most activities were quite ordinary: sales of home crafts and home cooking or baking abounded; choirs practised and performed in the major churches and occasionally gave concerts for the outside public. Anglican women's and young people's groups in particular staged operettas and the like. Organized social entertainment was frequent, usually purely for fellowship purposes. The Catholic League did, however, present a minstrel show for three dates to raise money for "public ward patients" in the Catholic hospitals. One program at St. Mark's Anglican Church was intended to aid the building fund; others staged by the Ladies' Aid of Knox Presbyterian Church were to enable purchase of a pipe organ. Ladies' sales, choir concerts and social entertainments were all frequently used to raise money to cope with those consequences of growth: building programs. Not only was there at least one youth group identified with each church, but there were many church-based Boy Scouts troops and even some Juvenile Temperance Societies. A significant part even of the nurturing process was evidently thought to be collective.

The same institutions common to the largest church denominations in Edmonton were duplicated in the churches of ethnic minorities, fostering in these cases not only congregational but also ethnic unity. German Baptist, Moravian, German Lutheran, Scandinavian Lutheran and Christian Reformed churches, and even the Church of God, conducted services in the predominant languages of their members. St. John's Lutheran Church in the east end, which had been one of the first to introduce English language services now gave German language instruction along with religious lessons. Beyond the actual language of worship, however, the men's women's and young people's organizations and social activities made some of the churches special communities for alien immigrants.[18]

The activities of many of the smaller, newer church bodies of less entrenched tradition served a different function, genuinely appealing to the unaffiliated newcomers in the city, to those who might feel themselves strangers. Established churches, in a period of rapid immigration, certainly did show some signs of recognizing a need here: they sometimes placed in their newspaper announcements invitations to newcomers. First Baptist Church headlined itself "The Strangers' Sabbath Home". But their lists of regular activities and official-sounding organizations were not likely to attract those who might be drawn to the advertisements placed by churches the Edmonton Journal was pleased to label "miscellaneous". The Church of God backed up its "cordial" invitation to strangers with special services in German and Scandinavian languages. The Edmonton City Mission advertised "The Ever Open Door" to its "testimony" and "gospel temperance" meetings. Central Mission invited "all who are strangers and alone in the city" to its meetings in a theatre. Christian Science maintained its standard free public reading room. Quite a number eschewed regular worship services in favour of the presumably more emotionally laden form of the "gospel" or "evangelistic" meeting. Seventh Day Adventists sought to pin down the future, providing, for example, a colourfully entitled Biblically prophetic sermon to show "what present events in the East foreshadow" (it was the "Coming of Armageddon".) The Salvation Army went out to preach in the streets and successfully fought off a charge brought by the city police that they were obstructing traffic. In a somewhat different tradition, but still not the usual one in Edmonton, a Unitarian minister gave an address on "Jesus Christ and the Carpenters' Union" in an attempt to relate the church to his perception of an economic revolution in progress.[19]

Though these may seem diverse approaches, they had in common an aspect less noticeable among the activities of the larger denominations: they attempted to explain the dislocation of the less fortunate of the city in cosmic terms. By way of contrast, the "stirring" meetings of Evangelist Ranton in McDougall Methodist church seemed designed to justify the situation of the comfortable, with subjects like the joy of Christian life. We may safely speculate that the thousand men who listened to a Sunday afternoon address by Ranton on the role of men in the Bible were for the most part respectable men noting parallels to their roles in the society of Edmonton. And there is something self-congratulatory for the whole group of listeners about Ranton's personal testimonial entitled "From the Bar to the Pulpit".[20]

That is not to say, however, that the churches of the comfortable altogether ignored those perceived to have problems adjusting to life in Edmonton. Indeed, many church leaders understood the phenomenon in collective terms, as the challenge of immigration, or the newest priority in education, for example. The alien diversity stimulated assimilative efforts by traditional churchmen. One of the Baptist churches sponsored a series of addresses on "The Church and the Present

Day Problems" for which "The Church and the Immigrant" was a prominent theme. The Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists all undertook special missions to the Ukrainians in the city, while the Roman Catholics had by 1913 completed a decade's work, largely by the Basilian fathers, to support the growth of St. Josaphat's parish which was then given over in 1913 to the care of the first Canadian Ukrainian Greek Catholic Bishop, Nicetas Budka. The Presbyterians had striven unsuccessfully since 1907 to contribute their advantages to east end Ukrainians, first by establishing a "Galician Training School" of short duration, then by sponsoring an independent congregation which apparently foundered by 1913 on the confusion generated by the mix of Presbyterian support with Ruthenian Greek Catholic form. The English Archbishops' Western Canada Fund underwrote in 1910 the establishment of St. Faith's mission church in north-east Edmonton as a centre for a vast Anglican northern prairie project. But the most immediate arena was among urban immigrants, and other mission congregations were soon launched in Edmonton by St. Faith's.[21]

The Methodists were still hard at work from a different kind of base: separate Ukrainian boarding houses for men and women. By 1913 these had been operated for several years, and had been used to host Methodist services and a Methodist Sunday School among Ukrainian immigrants. A key individual for translation purposes was the university-educated Michael Bellegay, whose work enabled the Methodists in 1913 to issue a new Ruthenian-language newspaper, The Canadian. But its combination of Canadian and world news with the Methodist version of the

the Gospel message never did marvellously transform the denominational balance in the Methodist favour; in fact it often stimulated public opposition from Roman Kremar's Ukrainian nationalist Novyny. Sunday school classes may have reached 100 at most; the greatest enthusiam recorded seems to have been for a program of the "Ruthenian Progressive Club" at the young men's boarding house which featured Ruthenian dances and music, including a chorus directed by Bellegay. Even that nostalgic appeal complete with native costumes attracted only 200 - enough, nevertheless, to dissipate for an enthusiastic Edmonton Bulletin reporter "any doubt as to the possibility of the Canadianizing of the Ruthenian people."[22]

A few of the participants in that production were evidently attending the Methodist Alberta College or the Presbyterian Robertson College, suggesting the assimilative rôle of education, whether or not it was associated with the churches. The possibilities did not escape the local Y.M.C.A., which assigned one of its paid secretaries the task of organizing English language classes "in rooming houses or shacks, or wherever foreigners can be gathered together." Mostly men, but also some women, were later to be taught the Canadian government system and "the responsibility resting upon them in exercising the privilege of the franchise." North Edmonton was a major area, but so also was the east end area of rooming houses, particularly among Kinistino Avenue, closer in to the city core, where the more transient population resided between working at northerly and westerly railway construction camps. Classes for them would often be disrupted, of course, by word of potential employment somewhere. The volunteer recruits to do the teaching were young business and professional men as well as students of Alberta College and the University. Their motives were straightforward, to say the least:

> Those who are engaged in the work are finding the study of foreign conditions in Edmonton very interesting, and they realize the fact that it is possible, by immediate action and steady work, to cope with Edmonton's foreign population and keep it well in hand.[23]

This perspective may well have bolstered the increased cooperative emphasis in 1913 upon moral reform. Not only the Y.M.C.A., but also the Women's Christian Temperance Union and other cross-denominational agencies directed a good part of their prohibition campaigns at alien immigrants. A typical newspaper report laid heavy stress on the fact that three businessmen charged with remaining open on Sundays and thus violating the Lord's Day Act were "foreigners".

Moral reform was also a project in its own right. The three most controversial subjects were prostitution, gambling and liquor. The first two show up in the annual report of the city police for 1913 in fairly modest arrest and conviction statistics for frequenting, residing in and keeping bawdy houses (145, 22 and 33 convictions respectively). Though hundreds were charged with the technical offense of "looking on" in gaming houses, convictions were hard to get. Not so with the common and obvious offense of public drunkenness, far and away the chief activity to occupy police and courtroom time, resulting in more than 2,500 convictions in 1913.[24]

The problems associated with suppressing prostitution in pre-war Edmonton would explode in a public inquiry in 1914. Then it would be revealed that Edmonton's Chief Constable for 1913, Silas Carpenter, was singularly effective in reducing open manifestations of prostitution but that, even so, probably 100 or so establishments continued to operate quietly. One raid in June resulted in stiff fines for the keeper and inmates of a "disorderly house" and police identification of "several well-known citizens" among the frequenters.[25] Part of the reason for the size of the fine in that case, however, was conviction for illegal sale of liquor, by far the more prominent issue in 1913. There was special reason, besides the obvious evidence of public drunkenness, for the prohibition campaign to gather steam in 1913: provincial legislation in the fall introduced the new tool of direct legislation, specifically a referendum, by which public petition might get results. Denominational cooperation took on new meaning; Presbyterians, Methodists and Baptists presented a common front, and even Anglican Bishop Henry Allan Gray approved, if rather reticently. Baptist Rev. F. W. Patterson would become a leading and passionate exponent of prohibition. An Edmonton Presbyterian edited the monthly newspaper, The Searchlight, of the Alberta Temperance and Moral Reform League, of which Edmonton's Rev. Dr. D. G. McQueen was president. This league sought to abolish not only the liquor traffic, but also gambling (especially on horse races), prize fights, and "other vices". It sought to bar liquor licensees from municipal office and to censor theatres and moving pictures. A mass meeting organized by the League in the local Bijou theatre featured (along with that new novelty, a film - In the Grip of Alcohol) the assistant secretary of the League, a Methodist clergyman. Scandinavian (Swedish and Norwegian) Lutherans and Baptists were just beginning to lend support.[26]

Though the League had since 1907 coordinated the work of leading clergymen, especially during periods of campaign emphasis, the most persistent organization of the laity was still the Women's Christian Temperance Union. In Edmonton there were half a dozen branches in 1913, as well as a Young Women's union.[27] The Edmonton W.C.T.U. temperance and prohibition program was apparently the most vigorous in Alberta. A paid worker saw to it that nearly 2,000 children in Edmonton and area heard "scientific" temperance lectures. Elementary school age children were invited to participate in silver and gold medal recitation contests, using topics "related to the evils of the liquor traffic." W.C.T.U. members circulated petitions against the granting of new liquor licenses for hotels. In one case they argued that a particular hotel was in a residential area too close to Strathcona Public Hospital and too far from police premises for easy supervision; that such licenses contributed nothing to travellers' comfort, while endangering the moral tone of the town. They appealed to the Attorney-General (unsuccessfully) to close drinking establishments on public holidays. They protested against liquor advertisements in street cars, without apparent effect. But a campaign to eradicate advertisement in stores of cigarettes and Christmas liquor hampers did cause one department store to respond positively.[28]

The other activities of the W.C.T.U. placed the prohibition struggle in a broader urban context. That it was linked with the middle class women's campaign for suffrage was evident in members' attention to developments in Great Britain. In March the world secretary for the Women's Missionary Society spoke to the W.C.T.U. at Government House, in part to display the connection between the women's franchise movement and improvement of prospects in the temperance campaign. In May a member recently returned from England entitled her talk on her experiences "Equal Suffrage". The W.C.T.U. in Edmonton had long argued that power for women was not in itself the issue: the franchise would be a means by which the woman's world - at home - could be protected. Thus W.C.T.U. departments were concerned not just with "Scientific Temperance", "Anti-Narcotics" and "Franchise Legislation" campaigns, but also with "Social Purity", "Literature for Lumber Camps and Mines", "Immigration", "Mothers' Meetings", "Evangelism" and "Fruit, Flowers and Delicacies" to comfort those confined to hospital. They tried to convince "foreigners" of the "evils of child marriage;" to visit and improve Chinese women's quarters; to convert with Gospel services incarcerated "white slave procurers", who would be followed with letters and Christmas treats after their release as long as their addresses were known.[29] They worked assiduously, in short, to standardize family and home life in the city.

This was a long term example of Protestant interdenominational (but by no means pan-denominational) cooperation in the urban context. But no other such inter-denominational organization approached the permanence which had been achieved by both the Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations. The general assimilative directive of the Y.M.C.A. constitution was that

> The members of this Association shall seek out young men resident or strangers in Edmonton and endeavour to bring them under moral influences by every means possible, surround them with clean associates and by personal effort try to win them to the highest type of manhood, and shall endeavour to secure that regular attendance at and membership in some Protestant Evangelical Church [a prerequisite for voting membership in the Y.M.C.A]. They shall also exert themselves to interest the churches which they attend in the object and welfare of the Association.[30]

The means to this end were by 1913 exceedingly diverse. A range of activities depended upon the centralized administration of the Y.M.C.A. More than 1,400 members, not to mention unnumbered outsiders, participated in Y.M.C.A. programs which ought to be designed, stated Mayor Short at the annual banquet in February, to replace cowards with "men who were not afraid to face the world, honest men and true to the highest ideals of life."

An extensive program meant considerable organization, accomplished by means of committees and paid staff. A Religious Work Committee supervised Bible classes, special evangelism meetings and weekly noon meetings at the C.N.R. shops. An Educational Committee kept expanding the scope of its work to include classes for senior and junior businessmen; classes in architectural drawing, assorted technical and science subjects, industrial arts, first aid; classes for "coming Canadians". Major emphasis was placed by a Boys' Committee on classes and activities for the more than 300 associated boys between 12 and 18 years of age, as well as many more non-members, whether schoolboys or "employed boys". A number of team sports were organized within the Y.M.C.A.-sponsored "Greater Edmonton Boys' League". Gymnasium classes were offered separately to school boys and "employed boys". In August the Y.M.C.A. undertook to teach every boy to swim, although the response was not as overwhelming as it could have been. The boys' Arts and Crafts Club presented an exhibition of its work; it also received the privilege of seeing the Alberta Chief Justice's collection of rare stamps. A group of boat-builders searched for a suitable engine for their project. An out-of-Edmonton "retreat" and a summer camp at Cooking Lake were arranged for the boys. They were taught the use of a savings bank, and were treated for a time to a periodical publication known as the Edmonton Boy. Their community was given a broader context during National Boys' Week, when they competed as a whole in a variety of activities against Y.M.C.A. boys across the country. During the same week the Boys' Division secretary, in his other capacity as secretary of the Pocket Testament League, signed up ninety-four boys, and resolved to seek further gains among the local churches. The experiences of the boys involved in the Y.M.C.A. were various, but the emphasis on cooperation was strong: fitting training for the urban existence.[31]

Athletic activities, including gymnasium classes and team sports, were a large part of the adult program as well. A Social Committee's responsibilities ranged from the organization of a billiard tournament through selection of men to attend a Militia and Cadet Camp to provision of social teas and sometimes employment for strangers. There was enough work in the several fields to occupy several staff members. The general secretary was joined by a summer assistant and an office secretary. The Physical Director had the help of a paid assistant. Full time salaries were paid to a Boys' Secretary and to an Extension Secretary.[32] The Y.M.C.A. was a civic institution, getting far beyond the volunteer stage to provide community services in recreation, education and citizenship preparation.

The Young Women's Christian Association was by 1913 pressing along a similar path. For the Y.W.C.A., protection of single womankind in the city was a dominant motive: quarters for accommodation were therefore vital. By 1913 the Board of Directors was preoccupied with building plans to provide accommodation for close to 150 in 25 single bedrooms, 50 double, and three dormitories, with dining, reception, chapel, medical, library, meeting, education and club facilities including the traditional gymnasium and swimming pool. But living accommodation was paramount: in the six years before 1913 the Y.W.C.A. had operated first an ordinary house, then a vacated nursing home to provide for up to forty boarders, whether long term or transient. Over 500 strangers a year were being temporarily housed by the Y.W.C.A. A "travellers' aid" program involved meeting trains to assist the lone female traveller. In the first nine months of 1913 close to 600 individuals were helped in this way, better than a third of them to the extent of being brought to the Y.W.C.A. home. Among the permanent population, younger women of lower income were the main targets;

older women were welcome as members in order to assist with the voluntary work. In order to cater to university students, a Y.W.C.A. "hotel" was about to be opened on the south side; in the northeast a cafeteria and "institute" was being prepared. But that was not the place for Y.W.C.A. boarders; the new Y.W.C.A. centre would be safely in the west end.

For its patrons, the Y.W.C.A. provided a variety of services: from evening vespers services through dances, receptions and a range of evening games and music entertainment to employment placement. Hundreds applied for work through the Y.W.C.A. Although the Y.W.C.A. had fewer paid staff members than did the Y.M.C.A., there were separate committees to supervise "Laws", "Travellers' Aid", the "Employment Bureau", the "Boarding House", "Health", "Equal Moral Standards" and "Prevention of Traffic in Women". A fortnightly series of talks on "literary topics, travel, and subjects of general interest" was initiated in 1913, but the educational emphasis of the Y.M.C.A. (related to its employment role) was replaced for the Y.W.C.A. by attention to shelter for women's persons and virtues.[33] Both agencies placed easing the adjustments of newcomers high on the lists of their priorities in 1913: both, that is to say, interpreted their Christian calling very much in terms of building a proper urban community.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), February 13, March 10, 27, September 19, 1913; Edmonton Journal (EJ), April 21, June 3, 10, 1913.

2. EJ, June 9, 11, September 9, 1913; EB, September 10, December 13, 1913; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 144, 146.

3. Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 140; Mrs. K. M. Taylor, Edmonton Social Directory, 1914, 5; EB, February 11, March 1, 26, 27, 1913.

4. EJ, June 11, November 19, 1913; Taylor, Edmonton Social Directory, 3-7.

5. Taylor, Edmonton Social Directory, 3, 8; Minute Book #3 (1913), Edmonton branch, Canadian Women's Press Club: Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Edmonton Canadian Women's Press Club Papers; EJ, June 9, 10, 1913.

6. EB, March 12, 1913; Agnes K. Teviotdale, "Up to 1920," in Marjorie Buckley, ed., As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton (Edmonton, Spartan Press Ltd., 1973), 7-10.

7. EB, December 3, 6, 1913. For background, see Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1976), 226-280.

8. EB and EJ, December 13, 1913.

9. EJ, May 19, June 9, September 10, November 22, 1913.

10. EJ, November 18, December 20, 1913.

11. EB, February 11, December 20, 1913; EJ, April 14, 18, 21, May 3, 13, June 12, December 22, 1913.

12. EB, February 11, March 1, 18, September 27, December 13, 1913; EJ, March 1, September 6, November 22, December 22, 1913; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 146, 151.

13. Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 147-151; EB, March 19, 27, 29, 1913; EJ, April 14, May 26, June 10, 11, July 24, September 6, November 18, 22, December 22, 1913.

14. W. A. Griesbach, I Remember (Toronto, Ryerson, 1946), 337-338, 342; Captain H. G. Kennedy, ed., History of the 101st Regiment Edmonton Fusiliers 1908-1913 (Pierce & Kennedy, ca. 1913); EB, March 29, 1913; EJ, April 21, June 9, 11, 12, September 26, November 18, 22, 1913.

15. EC, January 8, 1913; EJ, September 27, November 22, 1913; EB, December 6, 1913; Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1913, 136-139.

16. EB, January 17, February 12, 1913; EJ, May 3, 24, June 12, July 14, November 22, 1913; Emile J. Legal, comp., *Short Sketches of the History of the Catholic Churches and Missions in Central Canada* (1914), 32-40; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta, and the Klondike 1881-1925...." (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 47-50; Rev. D. W. Paterson, ed., "The Presbytery of Edmonton," in R. J. Burton, ed., *"Growth": A History and Anthology of the Synod of Alberta of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (The Synod's History Committee, 1968), 53-61; C. C. McLaurin, *Pioneering in Western Canada: A Story of the Baptists* (Calgary, The Author, 1939), 343.

17. *Henderson's Edmonton Directory*, 1913, 136; Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 123-125; Knox United Church, Edmonton, *The Knox Story 1907/1967* (1967), 23-29; EB, March 15, 1913; J. H. Riddell, *Methodism in the Middle West* (Toronto, Ryerson, 1946), 273-275; Legal, *Short Sketches*, 41; L. G. Thomas, "The Church of England and Higher Education in the Prairie West Before 1914," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society*, vol. III, no. 1 (January, 1956), 9.

18. The newspapers are full of reports of hundreds, even thousands of examples of church group activities; references here are to EB, January 17, December 6, 13, 1913; EJ, June 9-14, September 6, 27, November 18, 22, December 30, 1913. A partial list of women's "Church Societies" is also available in Taylor, *Edmonton Social Directory*, 9-15.

19. EB, March 10, December 6, 1913; EJ, May 3, September 27, 1913.

20. EB, February 10, 11, 1913.

21. EJ, September 27, 1913; Legal, *Short Sketches*, 126-127; Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 96-98; Michael H. Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* (Winnipeg/Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 110-111; L. G. Thomas, "Mission Church in Edmonton: An Anglican Experiment in the Canadian West," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 2 (1958), 55-60.

22. EB, February 13, 1913; Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians*, 275; G. N. Emery, "Methodist Missions Among the Ukrainians," *Alberta Historical Review*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Spring, 1971), 17-18; *Riddell, Methodism*, 285-286.

23. EB, March 10, 1913.

24. EJ, June 10, 14, November 22, 1913; City of Edmonton, *Ninth Annual Financial and Departmental Report....1913*, 253-257: Edmonton City Archives (ECA).

25. A rather melodramatic and distortedly incomplete account which nevertheless identifies the newspaper sources on the

subject is James Gray, Red Lights on the Prairies (Toronto, Macmillan, 1971), 104-120. A somewhat more balanced account is John P. Day, "May Buchanan's Disorderly House" (Unpublished manuscript, Edmonton Parks and Recreation Department, 1977), 13-31.

26. R. I. McLean, "A Most Effectual Remedy: Temperance and Prohibition in Alberta, 1875-1915" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1969),56, 60-62, 69-70, 93, 111-137; McLaurin, Pioneering, 171; Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 131-136; L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 157-160.

27. Taylor, Edmonton Social Directory, 18.

28. EJ, June 11, 1913; Minutes, W.C.T.U. Strathcona Union, September 10, 1909, January 12, 1912: Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI), W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 1, File 1; Alberta W.C.T.U. Convention Report, September, 1913: GAI, W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 6, File 35.

29. Ibid.; Alberta W.C.T.U. Annual Convention Minutes, September 29-October 2, 1913; GAI, W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 1, File 2; EB, March 3, 4, 1913; EJ, May 13, 1913.

30. Draft constitution and Bylaws, Edmonton Y.M.C.A., as submitted to a Board meeting of March 21, 1907: PAA, Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Papers.

31. Y.M.C.A. minutes (mainly Board of Directors) for 1913 in Minute Book #5, pages 161-186: PAA, Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Papers, and typescript in same location, "The History of the Edmonton Young Men's Christian Association," 15-16; EJ, August 19, September 26, 27, November 22, 1913. For the North American background, see David Macleod, "A Live Vaccine: the Y.M.C.A. and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920," Histoire Sociale/Social History, vol. 11, no. 21 (May, 1978), 5-26.

32. Ibid.

33. EJ, February 4, September 27, November 22, 1913; Edmonton Y.W.C.A. Minute Books #1 and #5 (1907 and 1913): PAA, Edmonton Y.W.C.A. Papers. For background see Wendy Mitchinson, "The Y.W.C.A. and Reform in the Nineteenth Century," Histoire Sociale/Social History, vol. 12, no. 24 (November-December, 1979), 368-384.

Chapter 17: Recreation and Entertainment.

With the growth of the city, recreation was transformed by mass forms of organization and entertainment provided as a spectacle for throngs of onlookers. Only a large population made these forms continuously possible: to that extent Edmontonians began to have regular access to experiences which would be denied a community of village dimensions. At the same time, traditional small scale amusements were not ruled out: not only afternoon teas and private entertainment, but also such standard gatherings as public dances and whist drives staged by all manner of organization from fraternal lodge through service club to labour union proliferated. Insofar as those organizations multiplied in number and size, so also did their participatory entertainments. Regular recreational activities bolstered group solidarity and, to the degree that they simultaneously fostered urban identification, so also did their small scale entertainments. What was new in 1913 was the predominance of entertainments involving citizens not as participants but as audiences.

Some of this was simply a multiplication with population growth of amateur productions which were already traditional among churches and schools and, occasionally, other clubs. They were primarily opportunities for group activity rather than spectacles having any special entertainment appeal to wide audiences. Sunday school concerts like that of Grace Methodist church on New Year's day were annual events. For sacred classical music, Edmontonians had a choice of several major presentations in 1913: Handel's Messiah by the McDougall

Methodist church choir in January; Haydn's Creation by the choir of First Presbyterian church joined by the Strathcona Choral Society in March; Stainer's cantata, The Daughters of Jairus, and music of Brahms by Christ Church (Anglican) choir in November. Less ambitious concerts and recitals abounded; often they raised money for mission or welfare purposes, and occasionally they featured guest artists from outside the city. Musical and dramatic presentations were regularly offered by schools. The Alberta College Glee Club presented occasional public concerts, accompanied at times by literary lectures. Those clubs particularly interested in maintaining contact with old country culture sometimes exhibited it to the community at large. Thus Edmonton's Gaelic Society arranged a "splendid Scotch concert" of vocal and instrumental solos (including bagpipes), sword dances and Irish jigs, all to be followed by a recreational dance.[1]

Local music was increasingly being presented in the urban context as a whole, rather than for select group memberships. The theatres profitting from the steady demand for professional light entertainment might bill a minimum of local talent around it. Soprano Alice Pinckston had her opportunity, therefore, to make an impression with a repertoire of popular songs at the Bijou Theatre before the regular films were shown.[2] Musical societies open to the Edmonton population at large laboured for the specific purpose of performing for the Edmonton audience. Besides the Strathcona Choral Society, the Edmonton Amateur Operatic Society, the Edmonton Orchestral Society and the Women's Musical Society all prepared presentations. The last named group was admittedly devoted to fortnightly recitals chiefly for the enjoyment of its own members, save for attempts to sponsor visiting performances by outside professionals. The operatic society just got its rehearsals underway toward the end of the year, but the Orchestral Society in its second season offered regular Sunday evening concerts under professional direction at the Empress and later the large Pantages theatres. Programs of shorter pieces played by the group of local musicians included the works of Grieg, Rossini, Lehar and Wagner, and were evidently gratifyingly popular.[3] Although the musicians were not full time paid performers, they were certainly providing a special service within the total urban context.

The shows of the Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association were something between, combining professional contribution and local participation. It had a paid staff, of course, and brought in outside performers for both the spring race meet and the August races and horse show. On the other hand, those shows provided the opportunities for hundreds to emulate the fashion of the leading ladies in attendance. Hundreds of ordinary residents in the region, including children, brought their livestock and handicrafts to be judged or simply to participate in the carnival attractions. Though participation was widespread, audiences were crucial to every aspect of the fair: to pay entrance ticket prices; to bet on horse races; to fill the Livestock Pavilion; to pay to see the 685 pound fat lady, the flea circus, or the roller skating bear. When rain reduced slightly the gate receipts of the August

Exhibition, officials were to some extent mollified by the increased income generated by the first use of pari-mutual betting machines at the racetrack, which proved to contribute a profit advantage over the traditional use of travelling bookmakers. The two shows, but particularly the summer fair over several days, were striking examples of mass spectator entertainment aimed at not only the city but also the surrounding district.[4]

The carnival atmosphere of the annual exhibition was recreated from time to time by travelling circuses or "wild west shows", without the local agricultural or civic boosting components of the local exhibition. These attractions could not have been sustained steadily by the local population alone; indeed, fair concentrations of paying population were important even to draw them repeatedly through the western cities. One, the A. G. Barnes Circus, was a large Canadian show, but for the most part they were American. Several stressed the American frontier theme. Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show itself passed through in mid-July; but so also did the Oklahoma Ranch Show earlier, emphasizing "dare-devil riding and roping stars", as well as Pawnee Bill's Far East Show. There were in some cases huge troupes, the performers and support staff of Robinson's Circus said to number 600, including 25 clowns.[5] They required, and evidently got, substantial crowds to pay their ways, in the process identifying their recurrent presence with the city location for the surrounding population.

The circus companies were one variety among the host of touring professionals passing through the city. A few of the numerous theatres featured drama and musical drama. Most productions, especially the musical ones, were light-hearted and not very complex, in line with the obvious preferences of popular demand. Among the musicals, The Merry Widow was the best known classic, but was particularly admired in May for its costumes and sets. Despite their lesser stature, others like Hanky Panky achieved great popularity on the firm foundation of extravagant visual spectacle.[6] Two theatres, the Empire and the Lyceum, provided most of the dramatic entertainment. Except during the summer months, when vaudeville continued unchallenged, the Empire theatre alternated evenings with dramatic and vaudeville entertainment. Their dramatists, like Wallace Beery in the comedy, The Balkan Princess, would make several appearances within a week and then move on. Thus variety in travelling performances made up for the lack of a solidly established local company (although one Edmonton production did achieve enough popular and critical acclaim to be considered for a tour itself). Most advertisements stressed the New York origins of hit productions, but quite a number came also from England. Well-known English comedienne Alice Lloyd captivated viewers in a March presentation known as The Rose Maid. The "New York and London Comedy Triumph", Ready Money, a "Comedy of Love and Romance, full of Laughs and Thrills," was originally produced in New York, but advertised on the strength of the Queen of England's endorsement in a typical example of the attempt to exploit the authority of both revered entertainment metropoles.[7]

Some of the dramatic entertainment was distinguished. An aging Sarah Bernhardt appeared in a January production of

Camille after two months of promotional press. Alexandre Dumas' comedy, A Marriage of Convenience, packed houses for performances by famous English actors Lewis Waller and Madge Titheridge. Three Shakespearian comedies, Twelfth Night, As You Like It and The Taming of the Shrew drew good receptions in November. On the other hand, the fall season began with a month's returns of spring productions, so that even variety was limited to the winter and the spring.[8] In the Lyceum Theatre the owners of the Empire had run an alternative experiment since purchasing and renaming the Edmonton Opera House in 1910. There they installed Canadian stock companies for runs of several months at a time. As 1913 began, the Winnipeg Stock Company continued its engagement until the end of January. A Vancouver company renamed itself the Lyceum Stock Company for its Edmonton stint through May, following which the Toronto Stock Company carried on into 1914. From these companies would emanate from two to seven plays a month, all calculated to provide light entertainment to draw crowds steadily with titles like the inevitable Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Romance of the Suffragette, Sherlock Holmes, The Girl from the Golden West, Jane Eyre, Because She Loved Him So, The Call of the North, Pierre of the Plains and Zaza. Although the companies did not move on as quickly, their semi-permanent base was intended to permit preparation of one play after another: variety was again a keynote to attracting crowds of spectators. Newspaper sections like the Edmonton Bulletin's "Theatrical News of the Week" promoted interest not only with local advertisements but also with theatrical agents' prepared stories on coming productions as well as glamorous international news which would of course enhance the value of advertisements stressing New York or London origins for either a play or its performers.[9]

The international enterprise which was true for most of Edmonton's theatrical entertainment was especially obvious in the city's vaudeville and moving picture theatres. At the beginning of the year Edmonton was served by only one vaudeville circuit, the American-owned Orpheum Circuit, which placed entertainment in the Empire Theatre on alternate evenings (and for matinees). The standard comedy, dexterity and music which filled most of each program would be relieved by attempts at extravagant feature presentations which received most of the advertisement and review attention. Thus a "celebrated French danseuse", her effects enhanced by mirrors and electrical technology, did a "dance of the flames" on a stage apparently "shrouded in flame and smoke." Her "wild and weirdly fascinating dance" was said to evolve in the finale "into a great white Lily of France."[10] The demand for such entertainment was enough to bring into the city another vaudeville entrepreneur, Alexander Pantages, to build the largest theatre in Edmonton, the 1,600 capacity Pantages, complete with side box seats and a balcony. Mayor Short, Lt. Gov. Bulyea and other "distinguished citizens" were among the packed house viewing the theatre's opening in May; it was intended, however, expressly to contain the acts of Pantages' own vaudeville circuit, with his violinist wife headlining the first show. Thenceforth the Pantages' Italian equestrian team with Ringling

Bros. experience and "bright musical comedies" like "Cannibal Isle" would compete for an appreciative audience with Eddie Foy and the Seven Little Foys, and other shows brought by the Orpheum Circuit.[11]

Touring theatrical performers would soon reel, however, before the impact of moving pictures. In Edmonton there were at least a dozen "photoplay" or moving picture theatres in 1913, all opened since 1909 and four of them new in 1913, one of them aptly named the "Dreamland". Moving pictures had entered theatres as the latest development of the technology which many years earlier had presented lantern slides. Even yet the reels were short so that an evening's entertainment would normally feature several brief films interspersed with local or touring professional musical entertainment. Thus "Edmonton's Largest Fotoplay Theatre," the Bijou, advertised on one occasion not only the "Edison Two Reel Feature 'The Mystery of West Sedgewick'," but also "Refined Musicale, Miss Alice Pinckston, in new and popular ballads." A travelling "concert orchestra" once shared the billing at the Orpheum theatre with "the usual high-class program of picture plays," in this case "a two-reel Pathe, 'Drama in the Air', 'A Gamble with Death', and a comedy, 'Absent-minded Mr. Boob'." One Frederick Irving, whose claim to fame was to have sung with Mme. Schumann-Heink, "delighted" his audience in another movie house, the Monarch. Advertising was most intense, however, on behalf of the moving pictures themselves, the plots of which were tantalizingly presented in the "Amusements" sections of the newspapers. The number of reels in a film, or the number of films shown (that is, quantity) was stressed, although the attempt was regularly made as well to promote the special aura of individual theatres. "Canada's Theatre Beautiful," read one advertisement, "The Home of Features Where Everybody Goes - EMPRESS - Canada's Finest Photo Playhouse - Where Society Meets."[12]

Of course, the more of that "society" the better. Moving picture technology permitted mass entertainment business like no other form, and therefore incidentally multiplied the homogenizing (many would say levelling) process within this city as within those of the continent. A Bulletin commentator might remark about the value of moving pictures to eliminate "that dramatic atrocity the Number 2, 3 and 4 company, the cheaply engaged and poorly staged aggregation that has been accustomed to circle the smaller cities with presentations of sad versions of the big successes of the New York season," but one might equally well speculate on the modern theme of the effects proceeding from the effort to tailor moving pictures to the tastes of the widest possible audience. Within Edmonton it meant that the subjects of conversation in the realm of entertainment became standardized, as well as that the marvels of movie technology and the expertise of renowned performers were associated with the city. An excellent example of this sort of urban excitement was engendered by the appearance for the first time in April and May of the "new Edison talking pictures," which impressed the select premiere audience of newspaper men and women for its synchronization of sound with visual effect, if not for its tone. Mass audiences were wildly enthusiastic about the improved realism of screen presentations.[13]

Mass exposure of a common product inevitably brought community attempts to control that product. Live productions developed elsewhere before import into Edmonton had already stimulated censorship to meet Canadian standards or provoked comments like those found in the Edmonton Capital to the effect that plays imported to Edmonton were all too often marred by suggestive vulgarities or capable of offending local clergymen for their "questionable moral tone." The realism of film, such as it was in that early stage, introduced a new dilemma. On at least two occasions in 1913 it was the protrayal of violence on the screen which stimulated censorship proceedings. In February the appearance of a film about a New York policeman who was in the end murdered raised enough objections about its effect on juvenile minds to cause appointment of a committee from the provincial Children's Aid and Attorney General's departments to consider its censorship. By December regular censorship procedures were in place in time to forbid the showing of a picture called The Law Breakers, and to confiscate the film when the Monarch Theatre attempted to ignore the ruling. The question of moral control arose in a more indirect way: an uproar briefly followed the announced intentions of the Portola Theatre to begin showing moving pictures on Sundays, amidst rumours that several others would follow suit, setting aside 10 percent of profits to fight possible legal proceedings. This would of course be much more feasible with motion pictures than with other entertainments because it would alienate far fewer employees. But those managers who did not wish to initiate Sunday business would have practical reasons to add to their moral indignation, and in the face of their threats to launch legal proceedings themselves, the renegades ceased to press their proposal.[14] These few incidents are enough to introduce an increasing urban dilemma: the imposition of international standards of taste on urban individuals would easily go along with the advantages of mass technology and collective entertainment.

Sports activities may have been free of that sort of controversy, but large scale organization produced standard experiences there as well. Some activities in which large numbers of people participated, not necessarily competitively, like swimming and skating, demanded cooperation of some sort to develop the necessary facilities and the efforts of the city and the Y.M.C.A. to provide these has already been indicated. Popular pressure on the Y.M.C.A. pool had increased with the rapid immigration into Edmonton to such an extent that the original pool built in 1908 had nearly to be doubled in size in 1910.[15] The Y.M.C.A. was also an international imposition on Edmonton organization, but without the commercial aspects of other entertainment businesses. But commercially operated mass participatory entertainment had come to Edmonton by 1913, especially in the forms of bowling and billiards, although it was not yet extensive. The Olympic Bowling Lanes was a business dependent for its profits on maximum general usage. Its popularity was enhanced by the publicity emanating from the organization of a bowling league for half-a-dozen six-man teams whose results were regularly reported. A provincial bowling tournament in the spring, the fourth such annual event, matched four Edmonton teams against many others and created immense enthusiasm among a band of spectators and long newspaper coverage. It was the beginning for what would turn out to be an immensely popular activity to occupy crowds of people.[16] There were at least three pool and billiard parlors in the city. One advertised on the sports pages of the Journal and the other two sponsored pool and snooker tournaments which drew newspaper publicity. The cause may have been notably aided by the appearance before substantial audiences of the touring world champion English billiardist to demolish local champions over huge handicaps.[17] These were comfortable sports placed within reach of almost everyone of ordinary dexterity at times which would accommodate them; they would shortly become regular urban forms of diversion for significant sectors of the population.

For the more strenuous sports, structured organization and civic representation had advanced considerably in complexity with the increase in population. Most but not all of it was still amateur, even at the level of city representation. Some sports - especially those with little international promotion - drew considerably less attention from participants and spectators than others. Lacrosse, once prominent in Edmonton, had descended (in organizational terms) to the level of occasional pick-up games between north and south siders. Cricket, on the other hand, although not played before enormous crowds, was sustained in part by the old country reports in the newspaper sports pages and by such events as an all-star game against a touring Australian team. Still, cricket remained an internal affair of the Edmonton Cricket League, in which six local teams represented such diverse groups as the Edmonton and Strathcona Cricket Clubs, the 19th Dragoons, the Hudson's Bay Company staff and the North Edmonton district. There was no provision for an Edmonton representative team in provincial or national championship play.[18] In basketball, due largely to the efforts of the Y.M.C.A., there were challenge series between Edmonton and Calgary teams for so-called Alberta championships at all of the junior, intermediate and senior levels, for the Y.M.C.A. promoted league play in its gymnasium. The inter-city matches could apparently generate substantial audience interest, and quite a number of teams within the cities participated in the various leagues. The public schools of the city arranged league play for both boys' and girls' representative teams.[19]

The level of involvement, particularly for spectators, was higher for soccer. A school league operated for soccer too, but senior and intermediate men's leagues within the city sported much more ethnic flavour with teams like the "Callies", St. George's, Sons of England, Sons of Scotland and Edmonton Welsh mixing with Y.M.C.A. and University representatives, players from the 19th Alberta Dragoons and employees of the C.P.R. and Edmonton street railway system. The identifications no doubt sparked the attendance of the large crowd at Diamond Park which saw the Callies defeat the Sons of Scotland early in June in a match-up of league leaders. Divided in allegiance, the players and onlookers nevertheless adopted a common aspect of the Edmonton lifestyle in which the ostensible opponents could not in reality do without one another in order to present the sporting spectacle. For soccer the degree of external organization was extensive. Not only did the Edmonton soccer clubs participate in the Alberta Football Association, but the stumbling block to affiliation with the Dominion association seemed to be that association's unwillingness to allow games between Canadian amateur teams and touring old country professionals. While there were inter-city challenge matches, at another level there was also a structured route by which the Edmonton High School won the Rutherford Trophy for northern Alberta supremacy and the senior Caledonian team met Lloydminster in the semi-final match for the provincial championship Bennett Shield.[20] In contrast to the multiple-level soccer action, only two Edmonton teams participated under the organization of the Alberta Rugby Union: the University of Alberta and the Edmonton Rugby Football club, managed by that professional Edmonton sportsman, Deacon White, presided over by Alderman Joseph Driscoll and including in its executive committee J. A. Clarke. While these teams played few games, they promoted them heavily, building crowds of hundreds and thousands by the focus of rugby football.[21]

Hockey still held, however, the greatest attraction for Edmontonians. Some thirty Edmonton teams, twice the previous season's total, played within the organization of the Alberta Amateur Hockey Association in inter-city, district, senior and intermediate leagues during the winter of 1913-14.

At the inter-city level, two Edmonton teams were matched in league games with two Calgary teams, cleverly maintaining spectator interest with multiple rivalries, one within the city, and some four others involving Edmonton versus Calgary teams. The Eskimos, another Deacon White team, managed in the spring of 1913 to progress to the national Allan Cup semi-final series in Winnipeg in a process which maintained high interest. Here was spectator sport not far short of professional entertainment.[22] But then, hockey was something new to Deacon White, former American; baseball was what he had come for and professional baseball for the Canadian west he had promoted successfully since 1907. By 1911 the Western Canada League had expanded to include eight prairie teams. They dropped to four in 1912 and the league appeared headed for extinction in the off-season, but the owner of the Edmonton "Gray Birds", Frank Gray, became president of the league and mustered the participation of six teams in Alberta and Saskatchewan, including Calgary and Edmonton. The Edmonton team was one of the worst in the league, interest dwindled, and Gray gave up the franchise at the end of the season. Once again Manager Deacon White and friends kept the franchise alive: W. J. Magrath became president and Joe Clarke secretary-treasurer of the new joint-stock Edmonton Recreation Company.

Despite its precarious hold in Edmonton, professional baseball displayed two significant urban characteristics. In the first place, it proved the eagerness of many Edmontonians to identify with a professional representative team playing more than sixty home games a season. Had his team been presentable, Gray might not have been discouraged by the end of the year: the season opened with an overflow crowd of 2,500 and continued for a time with occasional games each drawing close to 2,000 spectators. It was only at the hopeless end of a dismal season that patronage dropped as low as 400 or fewer at times. In the second place, the team and league were participants in a vast American professional sport empire. The Gray Birds played in a "Class D" league in a system governed by an American "National Commission" which set the standards of population base and salary for its multitude of leagues. Promotional news releases before the season began reported recruits pouring in from Chicago, Kentucky, Detroit, St. Paul, Ft. Wayne, Kansas and Spokane. Publicity support for baseball in Edmonton came not only from city amateur leagues, which prospered at the senior, intermediate and junior levels, but also from the long reports on the games of the premier American and National leagues which dominated the Edmonton sports pages.[23] The linkage of the two themes, a willingness among citizens to cheer for a successful representative team and the outside source of its organization and players is suggestive about the urban experience. Specialists were allowed to represent the city. It mattered not that those specialists had no idea what they were representing; what mattered was that they be successful and that the whole city be allowed to identify with that success. The bond was the medium of exchange: money for services provided, just as so many other collective transactions had bound the citizens to one another. And to cope with this desire, Edmontonians accepted an external, international model.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the opportunity for newspaper readers to immerse themselves in the fantasy of far-away games. One could read regularly, occasionally on the front pages of newspapers, about Scottish and English league soccer, English and Australian cricket, eastern Canadian professional hockey and lacrosse, round by round details of American and Australian boxing matches, professional bowling in the United States, American and eastern Canadian college football, English and other horse racing, American golfing, Davis Cup tennis. In between would come more infrequent accounts of American professional baseball trades and salary disputes, Toronto hockey club scandals, English marksmanship championships, American prison baseball and Russian bids on Kentucky stallions: sometimes there was enough to fill fully five sports pages, completely overshadowing - or providing the real urban framework - for local events.[24] Professionalism was therefore pervasive in Edmonton sports for the spectators (including readers), even though active local manifestations were still limited. Besides baseball players, few other paid sportsmen stayed long in Edmonton. A boxer of Italian origin known as "Kid" Scaler appeared to use Edmonton as his home base; thus even a match in Vancouver at which Scaler would earn $1,000 was expected to draw Edmonton spectators, and a match with a Calgary-based boxer was promoted heavily on the basis of the accepted urban rivalry. Professional wrestling did occasionally appear in Edmonton, but the contestants in one example were Liverpool and Scottish champions: it had the aspect of a professional entertainment tour.[25] Next to baseball, horse racing was undoubtedly the most popular professional sports entertainment in the city. Horses from as far away as Toronto participated in the spring meet staged by the Exhibition Association, and the visits were repeated during the summer exhibition. An Edmonton Jockey Club was formed to make the racing opportunity more frequent: it looked for land for a new racetrack on which two more meets of a week's duration each could be staged.[26]

The trend would of course be arrested somewhat by the war, but the advent of professionals in sport as in theatre entertainment fastened the attention of many Edmontonians onto the same spectacles; it standardized their recreational experiences. Sports contests had the additional aspect of competition: to attract large audiences it was necessary for promoters to foster vicarious identification of a city full of individuals with a team or individual competitor labelled arbitrarily with the name of Edmonton. In such ways was community solidarity advanced one more step, beyond the cooperation necessary to attract people to see displays of local amateur theatricals or to organize the dozens of sports leagues which brought competitors together within the context of the city.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 2, 15, March 1, 18, 1913; Edmonton Journal (EJ), June 17, November 18, 1913.

2. EJ, November 18, 1913.

3. EB, March 1, 1913; EJ, April 26, September 27, November 22, 1913.

4. EJ, May 23, 26, August 12-21, 1913.

5. EJ, May 24, June 9, 14, July 4, 1913; James Sheremeta, "A Survey of Professional Entertainment and Theatre in Edmonton, Alberta Before 1914" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1970), 262-3.

6. Sheremeta, "A Survey," 230, 234-8, 259.

7. EB, September 20, 1913; EJ, November 22, 1913; Sheremeta, "A Survey," 220, 230-2, 236-240.

8. Sheremeta, "A Survey," 225-7, 229-230, 239-241.

9. Ibid., 243, 254-8, Appendix E; EB, March 29, 1913; EJ, November 22, 1913.

10. Edmonton Capital (EC), January 2, 1913; EB, January 2, March 29, 1913; Sheremeta, "A Survey," 220.

11. EJ, May 2, 13, November 22, 1913.

12. EJ, September 16, November 18, 22, 1913; Sheremeta, "A Survey," 267.

13. Sheremeta, "A Survey," 268-270.

14. Ibid., 231-3, 271; EC, January 2, 1913; EB, February 12, April 1, December 22, 1913.

15. Helen M. Eckert, "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta" (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1953), 85-6.

16. EB, March 3, 25, 1913; EJ, November 22, 1913.

17. EJ, September 25-27, 1913; EB, September 27, 1913.

18. Eckert, "The Development," 75-6; EB, March 15, September 10, 1913; EJ, June 2, July 25-28, September 25, 1913.

19. Exkert, "The Development," 85-6; EB, March 11, December 3, 1913; EJ, September 26, 27, November 22, 1913.

20. Eckert, "The Development," 72-3; EJ, April 21, May 3, 7, 24, June 2, July 23, 24, 28, September 26, 27, 1913; EB, March 25, September 19, 1913.

21. EJ, July 25, September 26, 27, 29, 1913; Eckert, "The Development," 81-2.

22. EB, January 2, February 11, March 3, 10, 11, 18, December 3, 20, 1913; EJ, December 27, 1913.

23. Eckert, "The Development," 82-3; EB, February 10, April 5, September 17, 19, October 2, 1913; EJ, April 21, 22, May 3, 6, 7, 19, 24, June 11, July 2, 22-26, September 2, 25, December 27, 1913.

24. EB, January 2, February 10, March 10, April 7, September 27, 1913; EJ, May 19, 24, July 22-26, September 25-27, November 22, December 27, 1913.

25. EB, March 17, April 7, September 9, 1913; EJ, May 22-24, September 25, 1913.

26. EJ, May 13, 22, 24, 26, August 12-18, September 29, 1913.

SECTION IV: EDMONTON IN 1921

Chapter 18: The People.

Edmonton in 1921 was a city of close to 60,000 population occupying 42½ square miles at a density of slightly less than 1,400 persons per square mile, the last figure comparing with Calgary's near 1,600, Vancouver's 6,700, Winnipeg's 7,700, Montreal's 12,300, Ottawa's 16,700 and Toronto's 20,200. The low density reflects the end of pre-war boom conditions: a drop of nearly 20 percent in the population and geographic boundaries encompassing land speculation of a more optimistic era. The substantial overbalance of men to women characteristic of pre-war booming Edmonton had disappeared by 1921.[1]

Those of British "racial origin" formed 78 percent of the population. Half of these were English in racial origin; better than one-quarter were of Scottish background, and less than one-quarter were Irish. This preponderance of British stock left less than one-quarter of the population divided among those of at least thirty different racial origins, none of which clearly stood out statistically. True, those of French origin constituted the next largest group, but they formed less than five percent of Edmonton's total population. Austrians (a rather uncertain "racial origin") and Germans each contributed close to three percent to the Edmonton mix; Russians, "Hebrews", Dutch (another ambiguous category given the recent experience of World War I), each in declining numerical order, made up between one and two percent. There were supposedly only 508 "Ukrainians (including a smattering of Bukovinians, Galicians and Ruthenians) in the city, fewer of them than there were Chinese (518), although of the latter 501 were male. Swedes, "Negroes", Belgians and Danes were each represented by between 200 and 400 Edmonton residents counted in the 1921 federal census.[2] Thus an Ontario visitor to Edmonton would be impressed simultaneously with the predominance of people similar to those in central Canada, and with the notable presence of a supplementary and alien diversity.

The proper designations for the individuals lumped into the Austrian, Ukrainian and Russian categories could form the subject of an interesting debate; so too might the accuracy of the Germanic count among Austrians, Dutch, Germans and Russians in a period when war-time sensitivities were easily aroused. Attention to the birthplaces of Edmontonians at once clarifies and clouds the picture. It was a young population, one-third at most fourteen years of age and one-half between fifteen and forty-four; that left merely one-sixth of the citizens with the wisdom of those forty-five or more years of age.[3] Despite the youthfulness of the population, most were still outsiders, at least as measured by place of birth. While more than half were Canadian born, only one-quarter were born in Alberta; the majority of the remaining Canadian born were from Ontario. Another one-quarter of the general populace were born on the British Isles, the largest proportion of them in England. Very few were born in British territories other than Canada or the British Isles. The birthplace of the next most significant group was the United States (nearly one-tenth); then came

Europe (seven percent), and Asia (one percent).[4]

The proportion of Edmontonians of European birthplace (seven percent) in comparison with the proportion claiming European "racial origin" (about 20 percent) indicates that two-thirds of the apparently alien were probably born in Canada or in the United States. Comparison of the largest specific groups yields the information that fewer than 10 percent of Franco-Edmontonians were French born; only about 20 percent of each of the German and Swedish groups were born in the corresponding native countries; perhaps 30 percent of the Dutch and Norwegians began in their native lands. Even Ukrainians (which designation in this post-war period was commonly understood to subsume Ukrainian Galicians, Bukovinians and Ruthenians) appear to have been born two-thirds outside Ukraine. In this case, however, it is not as apparent as for the others that North America was the birthplace of those two-thirds. The figures on Ukrainians would be complicated by the comparable ones for Russians, Austrians or Poles. Another distortion of the comparison derives from the "Hebrew" entry in the "racial origin" column having no counterpart in the "birthplace" column; their statistically hidden birthplaces undermine all other comparisons. Nevertheless, a broad pattern emerges suggesting that most western European Edmontonians had spent a generation in North America, while most eastern European and Chinese Edmontonians were more directly recent emigrants from their homelands. 98 percent of the Chinese in Edmonton were probably born in China; three-quarters of the local Russians in Russia or neighbouring locales; 60 percent of Polish-

Edmontonians in Poland. Despite their small proportion of the total population, these groups and Ukrainians (these to a degree difficult to determine statistically) would presumably have been the most visible "aliens" whose habits would most easily have been distinguished.

Customs and attitudes brought in from outside Canada were, moreover, far more noticeable than the proportion of foreign born alone would indicate. The Canadian born included a very high proportion of the very young. Thus, among the two-thirds of Edmontonians over fourteen, only 40 percent were Canadian born, while nearly as many were British born and almost one-quarter were born elsewhere.[5] We might expect this trend to be further emphasized were figures available for adults over twenty-one. Altogether, then, the culturally significant adult portion of the population was considerably less Canadian born than their offspring who would in part at least imbibe their values and habits of life. Further to support this point about the importance of Edmonton's ethnic divisions, the "Canadian born" population was in more than half the cases not purely Canadian in terms of parentage. One-fifth had British born parents, and one-tenth a combination of British and Canadian born parents. One-eighth of the Canadian natives' parents were neither Canadian nor British born (though these included the American born, of course) and another one-twelfth were born of a combination of Canadian or British and "foreign" parents.[6] A Canadianization process was evidently well underway in terms of mixed marriages; but at the same time much of the "Canadian" element in Edmonton was very new and still presumably subject to alien influences.

Of the external ethnic influences on Edmonton's community, two would nevertheless have been recognized as typically and traditionally Canadian: the British and the French. Their presence was hardly remarkable, although in Edmonton as in western Canada generally, by 1921 the French presence was decidedly a minority one. The French minority in Canada had, however, been highlighted during the war, with minor consequences for Edmonton's French community. In the wake of the conscription crisis in Canada generally, the Franco-Albertan community (with its organizational leadership in Edmonton) was briefly stimulated to an upsurge in cultural anxiety and effort, at least in terms of mutual encouragement. French language, theatrical, educational and press organizations were argued to be the routes to maintenance of Franco-Albertan culture: cultural superiority would overcome numerical inferiority. This thrust was rather blunted by an equal insistence on good relations with the English speaking Alberta community. It was doubtful whether this approach (a favourite of that prominent French speaking Edmontonian, H. Milton Martin) could avoid the pitfall of assimilation.[7]

In 1921 this danger was not yet obvious, nor had the long time French speaking leaders yet passed from the scene to be replaced by more western-assimilated successors. In 1921 they were still there, and among Edmonton's Roman Catholics, at least, French speaking members still made up a substantial proportion. Almost two-thirds of the Edmonton and district priests were French speaking, although the new Archbishop who succeeded Archbishop Legal in 1920 was Henry J. O'Leary, a man dedicated to replacing mission-oriented Oblates and priests of other missionary orders with secular priests (who would in time turn out also to be mainly English speaking). Somewhat offsetting O'Leary's effect, in 1919 the first French language council of the Knights of Columbus in the west, le Conseil La Verendrye, was established and the next year housed in a prominent Edmonton building, christened le Club La Verendrye and opened to the use of all French speaking groups. While some organizations ceased to function after the war, most significantly l'Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste, others like the drama le Cercle 'Jeanne d'Arc' and l'Association Catholique de la Jeunnesse Canadienne-francaise did continue. A newspaper published after November, 1917, l'Union, circulated in the French language until 1929. Well known French speaking entertainers, musical and dramatic artists were often brought to Edmonton. New young professionals augmented the established elite: Leonidas Alcide Giroux, for example, born in Quebec and educated at the Seminary of Montreal and the Universities of Paris and Louvain, who practised law in Edmonton after 1910. The son of Manitoba Chief Justice Sir Joseph Dubuc, Lucien Dubuc, studied at the Jesuit College of Saint Boniface and the University of Manitoba for a law degree. Having practised law in Edmonton for nearly two decades, Dubuc was appointed the French speaking successor to Judge J. C. Noel on the Alberta bench in October, 1920. Medical doctors Joseph Boulanger, A. Blais and Jean Louis Petitclerc swelled French speaking professional and community leadership ranks. The Jesuit College in Edmonton carried on its elite training role, in 1921 awarding its first B. A. degrees in affiliation with the Arts Department of Laval University in Quebec City.[8]

There had nevertheless been a significant erosion in the political impact of French community leaders. When H. Milton Martin completed his term of office on City Council in 1920, no French speaking representative succeeded him throughout the 1920s, decisively breaking a tradition maintained virturally unbroken since 1893. Federal constituencies were too large to provide for exclusive French speaking representatives in any case. While Franco-Edmontonians continued to have provincial legislative representation, their strong identification with the Liberal party undermined their impact in 1921 when rural Alberta elected a United Farmers of Alberta government, expelling the Liberals from power. French Liberal representatives of certain non-Edmonton ridings had traditionally been Edmontonians; but the 1921 elections, besides placing the one Edmonton-based re-elected French speaking Liberal in the opposition (Jean-Leon Cote for Grouard), also ensured for the first time that any successful French speaking U.F.A. candidates would be local residents, like the representatives for St. Paul and St. Albert. The Edmonton leadership of the Franco-Albertan community was thus both disrupted and thrust from provincial power. Only in the Edmonton Separate School Board was effective French speaking membership maintained: from 1918 to 1924 J. H. Gariepy, J. H. Picard and Paul Jenvrin consistently pressed for the use of French in schools and the hiring of French speaking teachers. And in 1921 Picard was near the end of his long aldermanic career.[9]

If the institutional French presence was beginning a relative decline in Edmonton in 1921, other ethnic groups were beginning to emerge. Some groups remained obvious to Edmontonians in the traditional way, in stereotypes. The Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs in their entertainments unconsciously demonstrated prevailing attitudes to Indians, Blacks and the Chinese very clearly. One uproarious Kiwanis luncheon featured costumed caricatures of Sitting Bull and Indians in general, so providing an intriguing contrast to the public sorrow at the passing of local Cree Chief Ermine Skin. The Rotary Club twice revealed its ethnic predilections, in the spring when a "more hilarious than usual" luncheon was entertained by a member "as a Chinaman producing unrestricted mirth;" and in the fall at the annual Rotary Minstrel Show. The theme was "Kakaroo", a mythical South Seas paradise produced with the aid of costumes and staging including a flag "bearing the alleged favourite emblems of the Negro race, a bottle of gin, a chicken, a razor and a pair of dice." An unflattering image for the almost entirely male Chinese population (a function of immigration restrictions) was sustained by occasional vivid descriptions of Chinese implication in drug and liquor confiscations and the suggestion that the Chinese might have collaborated in irregular election procedures.[10]

Blacks, though, were a different matter. These were, for the most part at least, Americans, and a good proportion of them received the publicity engendered by the energetic Rev. George W. Slater. When he arrived in May, Slater persuaded the members of the Black Emmanuel Methodist Church to reorganize as a congregation of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, a widespread Black American denomination. Membership grew and organizational activities abounded. Together with the members of Shiloh Baptist Church, the Emmanuel members carried their enthusiasm into the secular realm. A branch of the Universal Negro Improvement Association, a relatively new North American organization dedicated to Black self-improvement and ultimately return to the African homeland, already existed in Edmonton. Under its auspices two more associations were organized. High unemployment levels in the little community necessitated a Negro Welfare Association. A Negro political association involved the Shiloh Baptist pastor, Rev. H. Brooks, as president; indeed, the clergymen appear to have been instrumental in creating the overlapping organizations of the Black group in Edmonton.[11] The effort seems to have been a determined attempt to raise collectively the fortunes and image of a depressed people.

One group which had not yet recovered from the effects of the war was the German community. During the war individuals and groups suspected of pro-German sympathy received constant adverse public attention to which they had never before been accustomed. The Edmonton version of the newspaper Der Deutsch Kanadier and the Alberta Herold succumbed to the pressures of public suspicion and abrupt decline in advertising sales. German clubs and congregations curtailed their operations. Anti-German sentiment provided the fuel on behalf of the unemployed who, early in the war, were said to be kept from work by aliens with jobs they ought not to have. The destitute unemployed enemy aliens who were for a time the result of this criticism were interned with little regard to distinguishing them from those internees incarcerated because of some perceived threat. The same attitude was displayed by returning veterans at war's end, again directed not only at Germans but also Ukrainians, who could easily be identified with Austria-Hungary.

The Germans and all who could be identified with them suffered an abrupt change of status which was strengthened by the length and awful fatality rate of the war. The Ukrainian experience was more complex. For one thing, Ukrainians had suffered from the negative attitudes of many Canadians from the moment of immigration. For another, they had traditional reasons for animosity toward Austria and Russia alike, making an estimation of their loyalties difficult for Canadians inclined to be suspicious. Their situation was made publicly ambiguous right at the outset, when, just before the war, Canadian Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Budka advised Austrian nationals to support the Empire, while others (including some in Edmonton) demonstrated strenuously immediately after the war began in favour of Canadian loyalty against Budka's recommendations. For a time early in 1917, desperate need permitted the 218th Battalion of Edmonton, a railway construction contingent, to recruit extensively among naturalized Edmonton area Ukrainians, but the Russian Revolution changed that swiftly at the end of the year. When concern shifted to Bolshevik oriented radicalism, the Canadian Director of Public

Safety, C. H. Cahan, reported "radical activity among Ukrainians at Edmonton."[12] Every alien characterization of the period seemed by association with some Ukrainians to throw all Ukrainians into the outer nativist darkness. In 1921, again because of excessive unemployment, this time notably among returned soldiers, an echo of wartime overt discrimination briefly was heard. After returned soldiers' complaints and an ensuing investigation, City Council found twenty-four unnaturalized aliens in civic employ and decreed an end to hiring them. Later the extremity of the decision was recognized and the policy was modified to permit employment of those who would apply for British naturalization.[13]

In contrast to the low profile Germanic groups were compelled to keep, considerable Ukrainian organization was stimulated in Edmonton by the development of Ukrainian nationalism and responses and reactions to the 1917 Russian revolution. Post-1913 attempts to establish a Ukrainian nationalist political party foundered repeatedly on divisions between socialists and non-socialists. Edmonton leaders Roman Kremar and M. Stechisin left the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Party, which seemed after 1914 to derive its support mainly from Winnipeg. With the aid of the Robochy-Narod newspaper, its claimed membership swelled to 1,500 early in 1918. From the point of view of its antagonists, the party had become a Bolshevik Communist party by 1918-19. A bitter struggle between Communist and non-Communist Ukrainian organizations followed. Edmonton Ukrainians seem to have been little - or at least not prominently - involved. Instead, Novyny (The News) became after January, 1914 the main organ used by Roman Kremar to promote a non-socialist "National Organization of Alberta" to urge Ukrainian participation in the mainstream of Canadian politics. Although a provincial assembly in Edmonton at the end of November, 1916 may have had some annual revivals thereafter, no strong organization evolved. Religious denominational antagonisms may have intervened. It took the impetus of such visiting old-country organizers as Ivan Bobersky, "plenipotentiary of the Western Ukraine (Galicia) National Republic" in 1920 to bring together the rival Ukrainian Canadian Citizen's Committee (Orthodox) and the Ukrainian National Council (Greek Catholic) to dissolve in favour of a unified Ukrainian Central Committee. One of the impressive public protests organized by this committee in 1921 against Polish terrorism in western Ukrainian territory took place in Edmonton.[14]

The discussions at the provincial Ukrainian convention in Edmonton in 1916 emphasized a second popular way of expressing Ukrainian nationalism: the cultural one in the face of Canadian assimilation. Not only did the assembly express its "loyalty to the Crown of Great Britain and to Canada," but it also "appealed to parents to educate their children along the line of age-old faith and national traditions, the expansion of cultural-educational life and the building of national homes." Out of the various wartime and post-war prairie Ukrainian conventions at Saskatoon, Edmonton and Winnipeg came cultural institutions divided by denomination. The Adam Kotsko Students' Club and the Michael Hrushevsky Institute appeared to be Orthodox in inspiration. On the Greek Catholic side, the "Chytalnia Prosvita" of M. Shaskevych which dated back to 1913 had succeeded, with the help of its band and dramatic-musical circle's plays and concerts, in raising funds for a National Home established by 1919 in the new name of the "Ukrainian Greek Catholic Tovarystvo of M. Shaskevych". An associated "Taras Shevchenko Institute" housed in the vacated Grand Hotel in northeast Edmonton in 1917 followed the tradition of other prairie "bursas" or

> large organized boarding-houses catering to university, college, and high school students. It was hoped that the directors, and teachers, in control of these institutions, would help the students retain a knowledge of the Ukrainian language, literature, and history, as well as persevere in their Catholic faith while attending the schools and universities.

Speakers at a prairie Ukrainian education convention in the M. Hrushevsky Institute hall in November, 1921 similarly pointed with pride to the Ukrainian professionals who were graduating and universally saw education as the key to the Canadian nirvana.[15]

The significance of these institutions shows up in the formative influences of young Ukrainians educated in Edmonton. John Basarab was one example: born in the western Ukraine, Basarab moved with his family to Winnipeg in time to acquire a Canadian education from public school on. He began the study of law at the University of Manitoba in 1915 and completed it at the University of Alberta in Edmonton after moving to that institution in 1919. In Edmonton he lived at the Taras Shevchenko Institute (Greek Catholic), where he contributed lessons in Ukrainian history and literature to other students residing there. He became one of the handful of representatives of the Greek Catholic "national home" in Edmonton who struggled mightily to revive and continue the departed Roman Kremar's Novyny newspaper before it collapsed for lack of journalistic expertise in 1922. Then Basarab began practising law in Edmonton, having already benefitted from and contributed to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic cultural institutions of the city.[16]

On the Orthodox side of the same experience was Nicholas Holubitsky, born before the turn of the century in a part of Austria-Hungary. Only a year old when the family emigrated, be overcame a childhood of sporadic bitter poverty in Manitoba by persisting with his education to the level of basic teacher qualifications in 1915, then returning to the University of Manitoba to begin medical training in 1919 and finishing it at the University of Alberta after 1920. In Edmonton he stayed at the Michael Hrushevsky Institute, where he was active in the Adam Kotsko Ukrainian students' club. Other examples involved technical rather than university education, but the focus of the cultural institutions seemed to be on the preservation of Ukrainian traditions and the preparation for cultural leadership of the very individuals whose transition to Canadian systems was being eased.[17]

A troupe of travelling professional North American Ukrainian entertainers who appeared briefly in Edmonton in 1921 were reviewed with enthusiasm in the Edmonton Journal, which made the ironic observation that they "displayed some of that art which, unfortunately, is so unfamiliar to Edmontonians." Ukrainians were not, however, quite so invisible to the community at large as that would suggest. In June, Ukrainian Catholic Sisters supervised a program at Borden Park for Ukrainian school children of Edmonton and its suburbs to celebrate their annual "school day". One of the Ukrainian halls, at least, was used not only for sundry Ukrainian celebrations, but also for election campaigning during the July provincial election and during the December civic election. The prominence of the Edmonton Ukrainian community in the Canadian context was emphasized for Edmontonians by two visits in September and October of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan Archbishop of Lemberg, Galicia, Count Andre Szeptycki. Count Szeptycki's purpose was to appeal for relief for starving Ukrainians, especially children, in the motherland. Mayor Duggan himself presided over a public meeting at which the Archbishop spoke in the Rialto Theatre, and a dinner in his honour drew the attendance of Lt. Gov. Brett, government representative Hon. George Hoadley, Duggan, Mr. Justice Beck, Archbishop O'Leary, many clergymen and other prominent citizens. Several Ukrainian spokesmen, including John Basarab, took the opportunity to praise their new world neighbours. "One feels at home here," said one speaker raising a toast to the city of Edmonton. A substantial sum was soon raised in Edmonton for Ukrainian old country relief; but in return a firmly established ethnic collectivity won some impressive recognition.[18]

Among other ethnic groups, Jewish institutions were most solidly entrenched and best reported in Edmonton in 1921. The newly substantial Jewish population (over 800) had been considerably altered by the origins of some of the newcomers.

Educated, professional, acculturated Canadian Jews began appearing in Edmonton on the eve of the Great War, men quite unlike Abe Cristall, who later regretfully attributed his 1917 defeat in a bid for a city council seat to his lack of education. H. A. Friedman, a new graduate of Osgoode Hall, set up a law office in Edmonton late in 1913 on the suggestion of fellow "easterner", Moses Isaac Lieberman. Lieberman then joined Friedman's office as a student the next year, articled almost immediately and was called to the Alberta bar in 1917. Lieberman immediately and actively engaged in both the Jewish and the broader Edmonton community. In a Jewish community where Orthodoxy had once pervaded, he was, despite his "Reform" background, made a member of the Jewish arbitration committee. Another and brilliant local lawyer, Ben Golden, was apparently president of B'nai Brith, and Lieberman followed him in that position. Lieberman was also an enthusiastic football player and manager with the university and Eskimo clubs; he and Friedman immediately joined golf and country and skating clubs and, later in the 1920s, the Edmonton Club itself. Friction between the Jewish community and the larger Edmonton society does not apparently stick in the memory of Edmonton Jewish old-timers, although one has recalled that the later very public Hadassah bazaars contrasted markedly with the very Jewish bazaars of the early years. On the other hand, when the world Zionist leader was planning a trip to Edmonton in June, 1921 (later cancelled) a local committee chaired by Friedman was able to arrange receptions at city hall and the legislative building which would have involved the Mayor, the Premier, the Lieutenant Governor and other officials; luncheon at the Macdonald Hotel; and a "public demonstration" in Memorial Hall.[19]

Judaism was the most prominent among the few non-Christian exceptions in the 49 recognized religious organizations detected in Edmonton by census takers in 1921. Most Edmontonians were Christians and denominationally categorized, except for the 943 who professed no religion, simply failed to list one, or had themselves declared "pagan", non-sectarian or independent. Four major and three lesser denominations claimed as adherents 93 percent of Edmontonians: nearly 28 percent were Presbyterians, 25 percent were Anglicans, nearly 16 percent were Methodists and 13 percent Roman Catholic. At a more modest numerical level were Baptists (6 percent), Lutherans (3.5 percent) and Greek Orthodox (3 percent). There were appreciable numbers of soldiers of the Salvation Army (359), Confucians (352) and Christian Scientists (311), leaving a small proportion to be divided among 38 other religious denominations. As with ethnic backgrounds, which they in part reflected, denominational divisions at once showed the predominance of standard central Canadian varieties along with very noticeable new departures on a smaller scale. The connection between ethnic and religious variables can be demonstrated by attention to the Presbyterians. Although not all Presbyterians were of Scottish background, the ascendancy of Presbyterians in Edmonton compared fairly well with the proportion of declared Scots "racial origin" (23 percent). Not 7 percent of Edmontonians were, however, actually born in Scotland. Thus, a good many Scottish Presbyterians were of the distilled Canadian or (to a lesser extent) American experience of at least one generation.[20]

Edmontonians could be differentiated not only by ethnic and related religious denominational distinctions, but also by divisions in life styles indicated by employment, incomes and type and location of residences. The 1921 federal census, for the purpose of averaging annual employment duration, separated Edmontonians first by sex, then the males into forty-three selected employment categories, thirty-two of which showed an average of forty-five or more weeks' employment in "census year 1921". That is, for most male employees, there was employment somewhere between 90 and 100 percent of the time, the actual figure determined by the proportion (not more than 10 percent among this favoured two-thirds) regularly unemployed. Plasterers and lathers, bricklayers and masons were as groups the worst off for steady employment, a mere two-thirds actively employed. Between the extremes an assortment of categories, mainly building tradesmen, were something more than three-quarters fully employed. Surprisingly, in the twenty-seven categories of selected female workers, none was employed less than about 85 percent of full time. In fact only two groups, domestic cooks and furriers, fell much below 90 percent full time employment, though the reporting procedure undoubtedly failed to note part-season employment.[21]

Average weekly earnings for men in the same selected categories fell for the most part between $20 and $30. Steam railway conductors, educators, professional engineers and locomotive engineers earned more than $40 per week, and would give a hint of similar or higher incomes for such groups as lawyers, doctors, business owners and managers. At the other end of the scale, boiler and engine makers, boot and shoe makers, labourers, laundry employees, domestic servants, waiters, and woodworkers and turners earned less than $20 a week. A more realistic approach would take into account the average number of weeks employed, and for this purpose a set of omnibus census statistics cataloguing all the employed in all types of industry are most valuable.

In a total reported male workforce of 13,050, some 2,107 "labourers" using no recognized skill earned an average $843 in 1921 while working a collective average of just over 44 weeks (86 percent of full time). Another way to look at this, of course, is to speculate that as many as 1,800 of those labourers could have worked full time to earn about $980 each while some 300 were entirely unemployed for the year. In any case, among labourers the unemployment rate (whether voluntary or involuntary) was about 14 percent. For the entire male workforce the unemployment rate seems to have been about 8.3 percent; for all others but these unskilled labourers (a category which, incidentally, excludes 15 logging "shantymen" and 305 mining "operatives"), it appears to have been about 7 percent. Of course it is the total annual income which in the end counts to work out relative standards of living, but we may note by this comparison that a significant group earning a low average income also appears to have had the least opportunity to bring it to maximum by steady employment. This situation may be understood more explicitly by statistically isolating men in occupations averaging less income than $1,000 in 1921: since the average male income at large was $1,312, the less-than-$1,000 figure would make up a relatively low-income category. Besides labourers this category included 37 apprentices and 64 "messengers and office boys" younger than 20 years of age, but nevertheless, with no fewer than 180 domestic cooks, with bricklayers and masons, chauffeurs (taxi and truck drivers), domestic laundry workers, domestic attendants and guards, other domestic servants, porters, messengers and bellboys, housekeepers, stewards, elevator attendants and waiters (whose income might of course have been supplemented by gratuities), the total rises to 3,206, or one-quarter of the male workforce earning an average of $827 over 45 weeks in 1921. The unemployment rate for this group together was 13 percent, prevented from being greater by the inclusion of hundreds of low-paid but constantly employed household workers.[22]

At the other end of the scale, save for business owners, who were not reported, were well-educated professionals and a host of administrative officials. At the top of the salaried heap were five judges and justices, earning nearly $6,000 apiece. The group with the next highest average salaries, fifty-one professors and lecturers, presumably at the university, averaged only half the income of the learned judges. A notch lower were physicians and surgeons at nearly $2,800, but this figure is suspicious because of the small number (six) reported. Completing the list of highly paid professionals, in descending order downwards to an income level barely less than $2,000 in 1921, were a few chemists, assayists, metallurgists, a few accountants, 26 "educators" of uncertain description, a few architects, the lawyers and notaries, no fewer than 130 engineers, 5 dentists, 6 veterinary surgeons and finally, the 142 teachers. Altogether, some 420 reported well-paid professionals (over three percent of the workforce) averaged more than $2,200 income in 1921.

Doing only slightly better were 844 administrative officials (mainly managers and superintendents: 6.5 percent of the workforce) in mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, commercial, financial and service (including government) endeavours. The largest proportions were involved in retail and wholesale trade (318) and federal, provincial and municipal governments (242), but these were by no means the most lucrative activities to be managing. The best paying administrative positions were in steam railway transportation companies (where 29 individuals earned on the average $3,135), food manufacturing enterprises (17 earning nearly $3,000 each), printing and bookbinding (only 6 reporting earning about $2,833), construction (9 men drawing $2,753 each) and - where the largest number of very good opportunities were - banking, insurance, loan and trust companies (98 men averaging $2,740 income).[23] Categorized together, the administrators and most highly paid professionals formed just less than 10 percent of the workforce, earned an average $2,244 and experienced a minimal unemployment rate of three percent. This - besides business ownership or perhaps heading the government - represented the ultimate in individual economic achievement, well paid and virtually always employed.

For women, the ultimate was considerably less than for men, both at the unskilled and at the educated levels. Far fewer were in the paid workforce (3,651), only slightly more than one-quarter of the number of employed men. Their annual earnings averaged just better than half that of the men ($769) despite a much lesser degree of unemployment (5.5 percent). By far the greatest proportion of the feminine workforce were engaged in service and clerical (including government) occupations (about two-fifths in each). The best paid of these were assorted professionals (601 averaging $1,120 annually), among whom the majority and most affluent were teachers (384 earning an average $1,273). At the other end of the service occupation scale were the 939 engaged in domestic and personal service who averaged only the pitiful annual income of $430. The more than 300 who worked in manufacturing industries, principally textile production (201), with lesser numbers involved in food processing, printing and bookbinding, fared little better, being paid less than $600. Aside from the professions, women did best in clerical occupations, particularly in the transportation field (over 100) or with the Edmonton municipal government (24) where they earned on the average better than $1,100. The most rewarding position of all was available to four telegraph operators who earned over $1,300, a figure laughable in comparison with the judges' remunerations. Saleswomen were in demand (355), especially in general and department stores, but at the normal low annual stipend of around

$700.[24]

Finally, occupational statistics can demonstrate one aspect of family life. Very few Edmonton children aged below fifteen officially worked for income in 1921: twenty-two were noted in the federal census, although other families whose children contributed earnings may have been loath to report them. Eight-ninths of the male population of fifteen years of age and older were reportedly earning monetary income, but only two-ninths of Edmonton women in the same age range. Those statistics of girls and women were, in addition, heavily skewed toward the fifteen to twenty-four age category. In that age range, four-ninths of the total were employed, but among women twenty-five and over only 15 percent were employed in comparison with 94 percent of men in the corresponding age group. Clearly, earning income was very little associated with married women with children. The younger women appear to have dominated in domestic and personal service, office employment and retail sales, while professionals swelled the ranks of the twenty-five and over group, though not much.[25]

Combining male and female employment, the 1921 federal census allows computation of family incomes and a glimpse at the relative affluence of families categorized by the male head's occupation type. Considering labourers and domestic servants as representative of the lowest income group, we find their households supported at the rate of about $300 per person per year. At the other end of the scale, professionals, financial administrators, managers and superintendents supported their dependents at the rate of better than $600 per person per year. Put simply, the latter had twice the income of the former with which to fashion their respective lifestyles, and that with fewer family members employed.[26] A similar range of distinction was bound to be reflected in their residential accommodations.

That is not, however, easy to display in aggregate census home statistics. Nearly 90 percent of Edmontonians were classified by the 1921 census within "private families", those presumably living in relatively permanent dwellings, including 1,420 "families of one person." These "private families" occupied 14,523 homes (not to be confused with houses), somewhat fewer than half of them owned by their occupants. The owners did tend to occupy more rooms than did renters, a greater percentage of owners (84 percent) than tenants (58 percent) having four to ten rooms, and a much lesser proportion of owners (14 percent) than tenants (39 percent) occupying from one to three rooms. Of the tenant families reporting their monthly rent (over 80 percent), very few paid less than $5 per month; but among the rest, more than half paid between $5 and $29 per month or between $60 and $350 per year, while another one-quarter could afford between $30 and $50 per month or between $360 and $600 per year.

The trouble with any firm conclusions one might derive from these figures about the correlation between renting and low income occupations is that both the smaller space and the lower rental payment patterns were naturally affected by the propensity of single individuals to rent accommodation rather than own it. Nearly three-quarters of the homes maintained by single individuals were rented. Since there were few apartment blocks in Edmonton, any rented accommodations other than houses would have been in basement or upstairs suites in Edmonton's houses. Yet for Edmonton's single people, another interesting residential pattern emerges: even though nearly 60 percent of them were twenty-five years of age or older, fully 80 percent evidently did not form households of their own. Some may have been counted as family members in other households, but more than 6,000 individuals must either have boarded or occupied hotel accommodation, for they were not included within the category of "private families".[27]

Residential locations correlated reasonably well with occupational differences. Taking representative occupations from those near the top and the bottom of the income scale to the city directory, the results are clear. Not only did professionals, bank managers and senior civil servants tend to cluster in the west end, as in 1913 primarily on the north side of the river between Jasper avenue and the riverbank, but "labourers" and domestic servants were heavily concentrated in the east end again predominantly on the north side. The ethnically alien quality of the east end was remarked on the one hand by the dominion census takers going from door to door, and in many other instances by newspaper reporters who appeared willing and eager to associate economic distress with alien ethnic origin. In one hugely publicized case in June, an east end killing was clearly related to poverty, but made as well to read as a particularly Galician situation. Translators were necessary for the trial, and after its conclusion, "crowds of excited foreigners remained to argue the outcome outside the court house." Census enumerators found it necessary to engage a staff of interpreters to cope with the east end. "Men fluent with Ruthenian, Greek, Russian, Italian and a dozen other languages" were said to be required.[28] There were, of course, large numbers of east-enders and labourers of British, Canadian or American background, even though few "foreigners" lived outside the east end (including the northeast and the south side east end). While most did not starve, when unemployment became a problem, it would be most noticeable in the east end. What affluence Edmontonians possessed would generally be evident in the west end.

Only one collection of biographies of prominent Edmontonians was published to include 1921. Information from it therefore suffers a little from a reduced sample and a lack of cross checks among authors of differing social preferences and experience, although this author, John Blue, was the secretary to the Edmonton Board of Trade. To some extent the sample reduction follows naturally from the reduction in Edmonton's entire population after 1914. There were also, therefore, fewer newcomers to Edmonton's elite between 1913 and 1921 than had been the case earlier. The fact that opportunity ebbed along with the wartime circumstances already described which tended to cast aspersion on the greatest number of ethnic aliens in the city, combined to prevent whatever chance there might have been after 1913 for most alien newcomers or their offspring to crack the well established ethnic pattern of the elite. Seven of every ten in the available 1921 sample of 259 were Canadian born, although among newcomers more American and British born leaders entered the city than in previous periods. Even so, the British born formed only one-fifth of the sample; the American born not even one-tenth, while Ontario alone contributed half.

Lest it be thought that the Canadian born could include members born to alien immigrants, there is no evidence of this in their names and no room in the statistics. Though information about fathers' and mothers' nativities covers only 70 and 60 percent of our sample respectively, it shows within that limit that the Edmonton elite's fathers and mothers were still almost exclusively Canadian (the majority) and British born themselves. Most of the tiny remainder were American born. The origins, loosely speaking, of better than three-fifths of the elite wives indicate similarly that two-thirds were Canadian (the majority from Ontario), the other one-third almost entirely from Great Britain or the United States. The childhoods of Edmonton's 1921 elite were even more strongly (three-quarters) geographically Canadian, particularly (five-ninths) Ontarian. The remaining one-quarter grew up almost exclusively in Great Britain and the United States, twice as many at the former than at the latter location. Only one-half of one percent were born in Quebec or France. That even fewer were born in western Canada confirms the fact that the French speaking proportion of the elite was no larger than the French speaking proportion of the city population at large.[29]

While as adults 40 percent spent some time elsewhere in the west before landing in Edmonton and 20 percent were briefly tempted by the United States, Ontario prevailed in the origins of the group. In elite denominational preferences, the Presbyterian ascendancy was simply consolidated by the newcomers after 1913; altogether nearly four of every ten in the group (among the 80 percent who were recorded) were Presbyterians. A good quarter were Anglicans; nearly one-fifth were Methodists; not one-tenth were either Roman Catholics or Baptists, and these five denominations as always pretty well exhausted the elite list.[30] These proportions reflected the makeup of the Edmonton population as a whole, save for the minority in the general population adhering to the dozens of other denominations.

By 1921, of course, most had been committed to Edmonton for some time, on the average twelve years, three-quarters having arrived during the boom years from 1898 to 1913. Since those coming at the opportune time had come relatively young, the elite was collectively not yet terribly old (averaging forty-five), although the minority who came after the boom came at an average age (forty-one) ten years greater than that on arrival of their predecessors. When they joined the group at later dates they were contemporaries. If an infusion of outside youthful leadership is typical of economic boom, then presumably it makes sense that it ceased in Edmonton after 1913. In other respects the prior experience of the newcomers differed little from that of those already in Edmonton. Better than half were still from rural or village childhood settings; the other more "urban" men were themselves mainly from small towns. The largest proportion of their fathers appear to have been farmers (though here information exists for only half the sample). Even though Edmonton itself was in 1921 an older, familiar, relatively populous urban place, it still attracted leaders with the same sorts of small community backgrounds as had the smaller boom town earlier. Not much sophisticated personal urban experience was brought to bear on the direction of the Edmonton community; insofar as they learned from external urban example it was in a distant way. Edmonton - and perhaps many other emerging prairie cities - may have been a main target of rural overpopulation in eastern Canada and Great Britain for quite some time.[31]

There was a continuation of the definite trend toward better education among newcomers after 1913, despite their economic background. In 1921 about two-thirds had gone beyond secondary school to some form of trade, business, normal school or university education. Over half were university or professional school educated, and of these the vast majority came as recognized professionals. Only one-eighth came with trade or business college training. Professionals, not surprisingly, including judges, the city solicitor and the deputy attorney general, made up close to half of the total group of veterans and newcomers, and more than half of the officials of three levels of government, including the mayor, were likewise professionals. It is useful to consider "government" in a category alone, however, for this was the one burgeoning industry to be steadily gaining members in the elite. By 1921 they contributed one-sixth of the total in our sample, more than the proportions engaged in commercial pursuits on the one hand or real estate and financial endeavours on the other. Not three percent were immersed in the manufacture or sales of agricultural products; virtually all the rest were providing secondary and tertiary services alone, while direct exploitation of the natural resources on which the city depended would hardly be noticed in the occupations of this elite urban group. For some reason the manufacturers who did operate in Edmonton, not a group of altogether dismissable number, were not noticeable among the city's elite. Builders were scarcely better recognized. Perhaps there was not enough of the aspects of office and education to them; perhaps these were truly significant considerations in elite recognition. The importance of professionals shows up as well in the proportion (two-thirds of the sample) of leading Edmontonians who came to Edmonton with working experience in either one or no occupation. The shifts among two or (in rare cases) three occupations before coming to Edmonton occurred almost entirely for the non-professionals who would not have been so confirmed in their livelihood by a long investment in a specific education.[32]

Specific examples of Edmonton's most visible leaders illustrate the dominance of professionals and service businessmen. Mayor David M. Duggan was an investment broker in his early forties who had been born and raised in Wales. With but a public school education he had set up a dry goods business in Wales before moving to Nanton in southern Alberta in 1905 and to Edmonton in 1912. The Board of Trade president, William J. Thompson, was born in 1883 in eastern Ontario and raised on a farm before studying cheese and butter making at Kingston Dairy School, and Ontario Agricultural College. In Calgary after 1905, however, Thompson went to work with the Great West Saddlery Company, moving to Edmonton to manage a branch plant of the firm there after 1909.

On the other hand, Ambrose Upton Gladstone Bury, born in 1869 in County Kildare, Ireland, graduated with B.A. and M.A. degrees from Trinity College, Dublin University, and was eventually called to the Irish bar in 1906. He continued to practise his profession in Edmonton after 1912; in 1921 he began a decade of public service by his election first as president of a new Federation of Community Leagues, then as alderman. William Rea, public school board chairman and veteran trustee, was another Ontarion in his late forties from Huron County, where his Scottish father and Irish mother had settled. After teacher training at Ontario Normal College, Rea went on to earn B.A. and M.A. degrees as well from the University of Toronto. Moving to Edmonton in 1902, Rea first took a high school principal's position, then took examinations and articled with an Edmonton law firm until admission to the Alberta bar in 1912. Rea was Presbyterian like most of the others, active in the Edmonton Caledonian Society, Men's Canadian Club and Jasper Lodge, A.F. and A.M. A newcomer that very year, 1921, Christopher J. Yorath would make quite an impact as a city commissioner before the year was out. His expertise had been the reason for his migration to western Canada. An economist and engineer from London, Yorath had taught at the University of London and practised in London and

Cardiff municipalities before winning a competition set by the Canadian financial firm, Wood Gundy and Company, to save Saskatoon from bankruptcy beginning in 1913. In a sense Yorath epitomized the committed urban leaders who contributed their specialized expertise or maintained the services on which all depended for a healthy total system.[33]

This elite half percent of Edmonton lived in socially distinctive neighbourhoods. They were certainly geographically and occupationally separate and probably ethnically and denominationally as well. The 1913 pattern, in which about 80 percent of elite members resided in the near west end on the north side and another 10 percent in scattered south side locations, was confirmed for the smaller population of 1921. The tendency to relocate further west in Glenora or far to the east in the Highland district, had been cut short by the end of population and residential expansion after 1914. (See map on page 277.) A new institution appearing on 115th Street between Jasper Avenue and the riverbank, according to its calendar, "in the centre of one of the best residential districts of the City," helped maintain the social tone of the west end elite core. The Llanarthney School for Girls of ages eight to eighteen was directed by Miss A. G. Maddock, a graduate of the University of Wales and "formerly Chief Mistress, Carnarvon County School; History Mistress, Bath High School; Mistress of History and English, Aberaynon Intermediate School; Lecturer in English, Clapham Training College, London, England, etc." She had organized the new Edmonton school "on the model of English Schools for Girls, modified as a result of actual experience in one of the best girls' schools in Eastern Canada" and attracted to its Advisory Board the Honourable Mr. Justice Hyndman as chairman, as well as other nearby residents: the Rt. Rev. Bishop H. A. Gray, Deputy Attorney General S. B. Woods, Bank of Montreal Manager G. S. Hensley, Edmonton Public Libraries Superintendent E. L. Hill, and Donald McGibbon, M.D. With significant fees for board and tuition, and additional charges for instruction in such pastimes as singing, piano playing, drawing, painting, dancing, "physical culture" and riding, the school aptly reflected the nature of its surrounding neighbourhood.[34]

There was, in short, still a distinction, understood by those who believed themselves to be Edmonton's leaders, between the elite and the general public, though it was not expressed as the brash confidence of many entrepreneurs in the pre-war city. It no longer meant taking advantage of unbounded opportunity. Qualifications for leadership in 1921 involved sobriety, prudence and the tenacity to cope with a legacy of urban problems left over from the deflated boom. For Edmonton residents of all status levels, it was no longer in 1921 a matter of competing for a share of burgeoning prosperity; it was instead a matter of striving together to reverse declining urban fortunes, to maintain the city and make it once again work positively for individual citizens.

Footnotes

1. *Census of Canada, 1921*, vol. 1, *Population* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1924), 220, 340. Edmonton's population was listed as 58,821, down from a 1914 peak, according to civic sources, of 72,516. See James A. Proudfoot, "Some Aspects of the Recreational Geography of the North Saskatchewan River Valley - Edmonton" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1965), 9.

2. *Ibid*., 542-3.

3. 1921 Census, vol. 2, *Population* (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1925), 68-9.

4. *Ibid*., 342-5.

5. *Ibid*., 182-3.

6. *Ibid*., 265.

7. Brenda Gainer, "The Franco-Albertans and the First World War," (Unpublished B. A. Honours Essay, Department of History, University of Alberta, 1974), 41-47.

8. E. J. Hart, "The History of the French-Speaking Community of Edmonton 1795-1935" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 143-151; 162-9, 197; Raymond Hull, "The Irish French Conflict in Catholic Episcopal Nominations: The Western Sees and the Struggle for Domination Within the Church," Canadian Catholic Historical Association *Study Papers* (1975), 64-65.

9. Hart, "The History," 172-8; 182; 191-3.

10. *Edmonton Bulletin* (EB), April 29, 1921; *Edmonton Journal* (EJ), May 5, 30, June 20, August 6, October 28, 1921.

11. EJ, June 4, July 30, August 2, September 13, 24, 1921. On the UNIA, see Theodore G. Vincent, *Black Power and the Garvey Movement* (N.Y., Ramparts, 1972).

12. Howard Palmer, "Responses to Foreign Immigration: Nativism and Ethnic Tolerance in Alberta 1880-1920" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 218, 220, 228 238-42, 262, 267; Elizabeth B. Gerwin, "A Survey of the German-Speaking Population of Alberta" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1938), 110; Marilyn J. Barber, "The Assimilation of Immigrants in the Canadian Prairie Provinces 1896-1918" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of London, 1975), 209-212, 225-237, 252, 260-6, 297-305; W. Entz, "The Suppression of the German Language Press in September 1918 (...Western Canada)," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, vol. 8 (1976), 58.

13. EJ, January 20, August 9, 12, 1921.

14. Michael H. Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians: A History (Winnipeg/Ottawa, Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 171, 273-4, 374-5.

15. Ibid., 156-8, 169, 171; J. Skwarok, The Ukrainian Settlers in Canada and their Schools...1891-1921 (Edmonton, Basilian Press, Toronto, Printers, 1958), 72; EJ, November 8, 15, 1921.

16. Joseph M. Lazarenko, ed., The Ukrainian Pioneers of Alberta (Edmonton, Ukrainian Pioneers' Association, 1970), 194-5; Marunchak, The Ukrainian Canadians, 274.

17. Lazarenko, The Ukrainian Pioneers, 213-4, 255-6; St. John's Institute 1959 Yearbook (Edmonton, Alberta Printing Company, 1959), 70.

18. EJ, June 4, July 13, September 8, October 3, 18, 1921.

19. Taped interviews with Moses Isaac Lieberman and Ben Leibowitz by David J. Nelson, 1973; PAA; EJ, June 8, 1921.

20. 1921 Census, vol. 1, 756-7; vol. 2, 342-5.

21. 1921 Census, vol. 3, Population (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1927), 148, 150.

22. Ibid., 148-154 and 174-189. Various computations based on the census data yielded the results summarized here. See also EJ, June 2, 10, 1921.

23. Ibid., with further computations.

24. On women's employment, see Ibid., 186-189.

25. 1921 Census, vol. 4, Occupations (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1929), 364-5, 376-381.

26. Based on computations of the data in 1921 Census, vol. 3, 454-461.

27. Ibid., 57, 61; 1921 Census, vol. 2, 182.

28. Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1921. Various categories were simply counted.

29. See Appendix I, Tables C, D, G, L.

30. Ibid., Tables E and J.

31. Ibid., Tables A, B, F, H.

32. Ibid., Tables I, K. M.

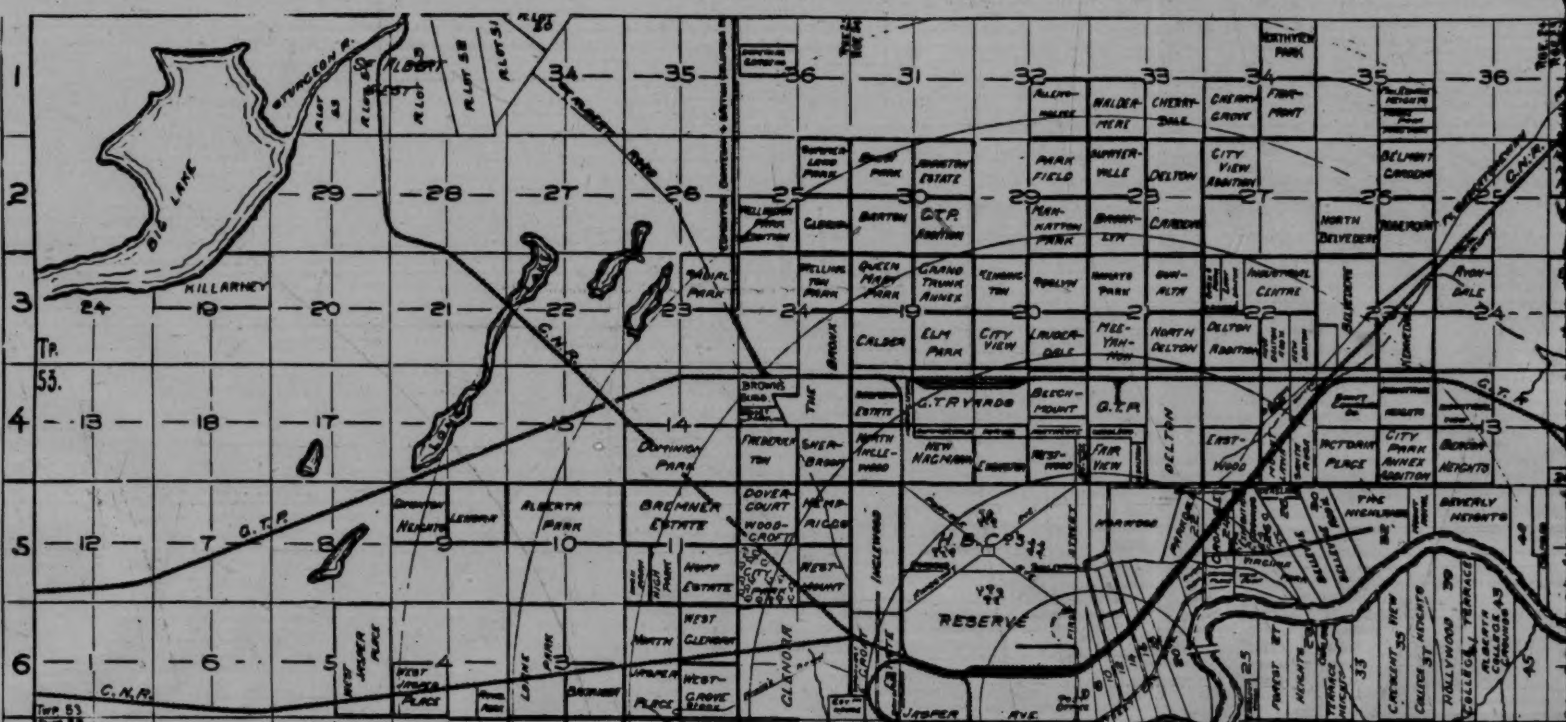
33. John Blue, Alberta: Past and Present, vol. 3 (Chicago, Pioneer Publishing Company, 1924), 272-3, 526-7; EJ, August 19, 1957 and September 11, 1974; EB, probably April 1, 1951, as summarized by Gordon Cherry, Edmonton City Archives.

34. Addresses were searched in Henderson's Edmonton Directory, 1921. See also calendars of the Llanarthney School for Girls, Edmonton, 1919-20 and n.d., as found in the Edmonton Public Library.

Chapter 19: Economic Stagnation.

In 1921 those Edmontonians interested in showing their horticultural skill and receiving prizes for it belonged to a society with a significant additional purpose: the Edmonton Horticultural and Vacant Lots Garden Association. According to the report of its annual meeting, this Association devoted a good deal of its energy to administering the garden use of vacant municipal lots.[1] These were a constant reminder of the pre-war state of optimism and expansionism from which Edmonton had fallen. The lots interspersed throughout the suburbs had once been held by speculators in anticipation of almost immediate sale. But the population had declined dramatically after 1914 and was recovering only slowly. Civic and business leaders were troubled by a variety of related problems and had to exercise considerable ingenuity to resurrect visions of a new boom.

The surrounding farmers were of course still producing, but even that aspect of the economy was temporarily suffering the after-effects of the war. The Board of Trade had expected a period of adjustment at the end of the war as European grain producers re-entered the market, reducing prices for Canadian grain; this impact was delayed until 1920 and lasted through 1921.[2] At harvest time an interesting conjunction took place for prairie agriculture involving another consequence of the war: the unemployment of a stagnant economy flooded with the manpower of returned soldiers. All year long the Great War Veterans' Association struggled to place an excess of men in a paucity of paying positions. The sight


BIG LAKE
STURGEON R.
ST. ALBERT
KILLARNEY
TP. 53.
TP. 52.
G.T.P.
C.N.R.
C.P.R.
G.T.P. YARDS
H.B.C. RESERVE
JASPER AVE.
SASKATCHEWAN RIVER
WHYTE AVE.
UNIVERSITY AVE.
LORNEDALE
MEADOW BROOK
CALDER
DELTON
NORTH DELTON
ELM PARK
CITY VIEW
KENSINGTON
GRAND TRUNK ANNEX
QUEEN MARY PARK
BARTON
GLENORA
INGLEWOOD
WESTMOUNT
SHERBROOK
FREDERICTON
BREMNER ESTATE
ALBERTA PARK
DOVERCOURT
WOODCROFT
WEST GLENORA
NORTH JASPER PLACE
JASPER PLACE
WEST JASPER PLACE
JASPER PARK
PARK VIEW
SOUTH JASPER PLACE
BUENA VISTA
WINDSOR TERRACE
GRAND VIEW HEIGHTS
EDMONTON COUNTRY CLUB
HILLCREST
GARNEAU ESTATE
UNIVERSITY GROUNDS
PARKDALE
IRVINE ESTATE
RICHMOND PARK
KING EDWARD PARK
AVONMORE
CIRARD PLACE
COLLEGE PARK
PLEASANT HILL
VICTORIA PARK
SOUTH PARK
RIDEAU PARK
CALDER ESTATE
HAZELDEAN
RITCHIE
HIGHLANDS
BEVERLY HEIGHTS
BELMONT GARDENS
NORTH BELVEDERE
INDUSTRIAL CENTRE
EASTWOOD
FAIRVIEW
VICTORIA PLACE
CITY PARK ANNEX ADDITION
CRESCENT VIEW
COLLEGE HEIGHTS
HOLLYWOOD
ALBERTA COLLEGE GROUNDS
TUXEDO PARK
CRESCENT HEIGHTS
DELTON ADDITION
CHERRY DALE
WALDERMERE
PARK FIELD
MANHATTAN PARK
BROOKLYN
BEACHMOUNT
NEW HAGMANN
TOWNSHIP LA POTAC I.R. No 135
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4 Miles
5 Miles
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Map IV: Edmonton Subdivisions, 1922

Source: Provincial Archives of Alberta: Map and Guide to the City of Edmonton. Edmonton, Douglas Company for Mundy Map Co., 1922.

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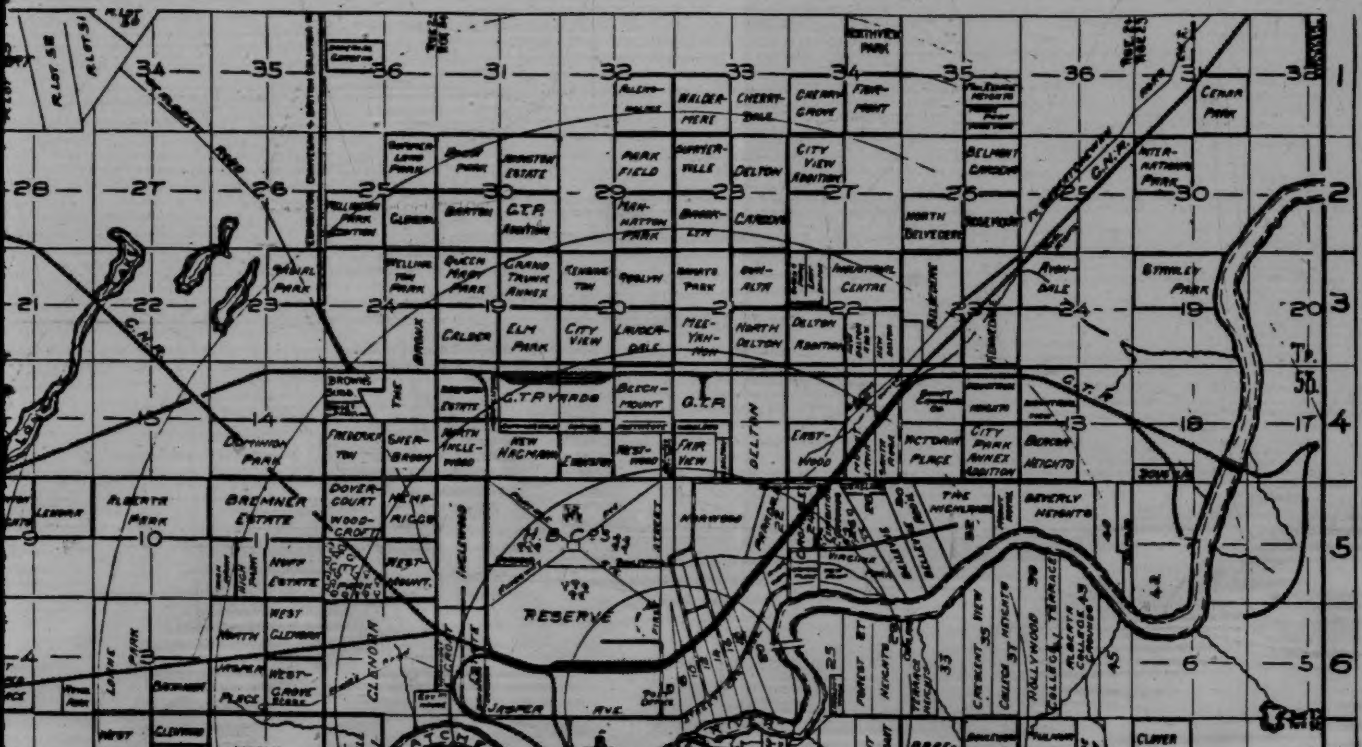

RESERVE
H.B.Co's
JASPER AVE.
SASKATCHEWAN
UNIVERSITY AVE.
WHYTE AVE.
G.T.P. YARDS
C.N.R.
G.T.P.
C.P.R.
2 Miles
4 Miles
6 Miles
Rge 25
Rge 24
Tp. 53
Tp. 52
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ALBERTA PARK
BREMNER ESTATE
DOVERCOURT
WOODCROFT
WESTMOUNT
GLENORA
JASPER PLACE
WEST GLENORA
CALDER
ELM PARK
CITY VIEW
DELTON
NORTH DELTON
BELVEDERE
NORTH BELVEDERE
BELMONT GARDENS
CEDAR PARK
STANLEY PARK
EASTWOOD
VICTORIA PLACE
BEVERLY HEIGHTS
THE HIGHLANDS
FOREST HEIGHTS
BRAEMAR
PRINCETON
TUXEDO PARK
CLOVER BAR HEIGHTS
KING EDWARD PARK
RICHMOND PARK
IRVINE ESTATE
PARKDALE
BEAV PARK
COLLEGE PARK
PLEASANT HILL
VICTORIA PARK
SOUTH PARK
CAPITOL HILL
WINDSOR TERRACE
BUENA VISTA
PARK VIEW
SOUTH JASPER PLACE
EDMONTON COUNTRY CLUB
HILLCREST
GRAND VIEW HEIGHTS
RIDEAU PARK
SUNNYSLOPE GARDENS
GROSVENOR PARK
CRESCENT HEIGHTS
ALLENDALE
NORTH ANGLEWOOD
NEW NORMAN
BEECHMOUNT
FAIR VIEW
CITY PARK ANNEX ADDITION
QUEEN MARY PARK
PARKFIELD
MANHATTAN PARK
CHERRY DALE
FAIRMONT
CITY VIEW ADDITION
INDUSTRIAL CENTRE
INTERNATIONAL PARK
AVONDALE
LAUDERDALE
WELLINGTON PARK
DOMINION PARK
LENDRUM
WEST LAWN
WEST GROVE
CALDER ESTATE
TERRACE HEIGHTS
HOLLYWOOD
CRESTWOOD

Map IV: Edmonton Subdivisions, 1922

Provincial Archives of Alberta: Map and Guide to the City of Edmonton. Edmonton, Douglas Company for Mundy Map Co., 1922.

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of family men on the verge of starvation raised frequent questions about the state of their dependents. Only at harvest time was the veterans' unemployment rate reduced; immediately afterward it soared over the 300 mark, threatening a return to the circumstances which, at the beginning of the year, had necessitated a public campaign for provisions to offset winter exposure and starvation.[3] The seasonal relief of harvest time to this general misery provides a striking illustration of the primacy of agriculture in the depressed urban economy.

The well publicized plight of the returned soldiers was testimony to the sufferings of the equal or larger numbers of unemployed who were not war veterans. Winter was undoubtedly worse in several respects than summer: statistically, the provincial government employment bureau recorded close to 800 unemployed at the end of November, when the figure was growing at a rate of 150 a week. Statistics hide those who were unemployed but registered at no agency. The "unemployment wave" was recognized as a major conditioner for circumstances described in certain court cases, such as one involving theft by an eighteen year old youth whose ten member family was entirely unemployed, without food and without beds.[4]

Edmonton bankers were hard pressed to see a slight improvement in the money situation in 1921 as compared with that in 1920. National statistics on bank clearings were mildly encouraging for Edmonton toward the end of the year, but Edmonton's position improved relative to other Canadian cities only because most of them experienced declines. Building permits fluctuated seasonally, with no discernible advance over the numbers or value of the previous year. Real estate dealers - of whom there were only a fraction of the 1913 numbers - expressed their customary public optimism, but a new departure in the regulation of their services, one which they themselves advocated collectively through the Edmonton-dominated Alberta Provincial Real Estate Association, betrayed the reality. According to a newspaper report, it was because of "the desire of the leading firms in Edmonton to maintain a high standard" that the Association was founded in 1920 and that it set about immediately to draft proposed legislation to control real estate agency membership by a system of licenses and inspections. These were hardly the policies of an expansive spirit; they suggest self-protection in a period of relatively hard times. Even below the real estate domain, the traditional Edmonton area industry of coal mining faced a decline in demand.[5]

Retiring Board of Trade president W. J. Thompson called it a "time for sane, conservative action," though he stopped short of alarm. In common with most boosters in 1921, however, he was compelled to look to the future and dream of new developments arising from recent oil discoveries in the Peace River region and the Mackenzie Delta.[6] Others called for concerted promotional action. The editor of the Edmonton Journal urged advertising Edmonton far and wide in North America, but the tone of desperation was set by his willingness to accept any madcap, imaginative, eye-catching format rather than depend on a sober recitation of Edmonton and area prospects. Occasionally there was hope, as in the observation that even though another half million dollars in tax arrears was added to the civic total in 1920-21, a slow trend could be perceived toward redemption by the owners of lots put up for sale because of tax-related forfeitures. That hinted at reviving confidence in the potential value of city property.[7]

Even if the market was poor, at least regional agricultural production was good in 1921, aided by fine weather conditions. The rate of homestead entries likewise increased considerably over those of the previous few years.[8] And agriculture was still recognized to be the backbone of Edmonton's economy, whether in newspaper editorials or Board of Trade pronouncements. The Board's executive secretary, John Blue, drove home the point that the annual Edmonton Exhibition was a product of an understanding among Edmonton businessmen of the necessity "to promote the interests of the farmers," since "the problem of making a living in Northern Alberta is a community one for us all." A new legislature had just been elected, coincidentally the first one in which representatives of the United Farmers of Alberta formed a majority. The Board of Trade was not slow to add to a planned civic welcome week for the legislators a simultaneous "Reception Week" for rural people of surrounding districts. Premier Herbert Greenfield saw the attendance of 1,500 at the "Capital City Ball", highlight of the week's events, as an instance of urban-rural cooperation. Country guests were entertained at a joint luncheon of the Rotary, Kiwanis and Gyro service clubs, where similar cooperative sentiments were expressed by prominent businessmen.[9]

Though it continued to be the largest single factor in the urban economy, Alberta agriculture could not be counted on for any exceptional boost to Edmonton fortunes reminiscent of the immigration, settlement and railway construction in the period before the war. From the railway companies, little expansion could be expected. By 1920, The Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National railway companies were the only major operators in Edmonton, the former by virtue of leasing several smaller radial lines which had gotten into financial trouble, the latter by forced government amalgamation of the previously failing Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk Pacific private lines. The provincial government for the time being operated another financial failure, the Alberta and Great Waterways railway north to Fort McMurray. In the circumstances, Edmontonians were not even permitted to hope for imminent completion of a planned new C.N.R. station.[10]

Nevertheless, a boom frontier attitude could still be mustered by looking to new resources and new modes of transportation. The resource hope of 1921 was oil, located in northern regions remote from Edmonton but to which Edmonton was still the closest city: Fort Norman (Norman Wells) near the mouth of the Mackenzie River, at least 1500 miles away, and the Peace River country in the vicinity of Pouce Coupe. Prospecting by Imperial Oil geologists even before the war led to successful exploratory drilling in 1919 and 1920 near Fort Norman.[11] By January, 1921 the oil discoveries were big enough news to cause the federal government to suspend and ponder the adequacy of its lease and development regulations. Enough publicity resulted to excite the local Board of Trade. After new regulations were set in place in February, the Board petitioned successfully for further improvements, ostensibly to prevent absolutely any prospect of irresponsible "wildcatting" and mere speculation without development, but also (and more to the point in those feverish months) to speed up the process proposed for issuance of petroleum leases.[12] By June, trains north to Fort McMurray were crowded with passengers expecting to take the long water route to the Fort Norman prospects. Some sought the tantalizing old alternative objective, gold, rather than oil. In several respects the excitement was reminiscent of the 1898 gold rush: the resource was in the frozen ground of the north and it was at a distressing distance. Newspaper accounts appeared in 1921, just as in 1898, purporting to describe "A Short Cut to the Oil Fields" of a mere 1,630 arduous miles. Editorials hoped for discovery of large productivity, for Edmonton's sake.[13]

In several other respects, however, this oil fever was quite distinct from the Klondike experience. Oil there was, but it could not simply be taken by individuals for immediate easy profit, as had initially been the case in the gold rush. Distance to market was crucial to the question of feasibility for development of an oil extraction industry. Enthusiasm therefore petered out in the second half of the year, at least with respect to the Fort Norman field, not to revive again until discoveries of silver, uranium and gold in the North-West Territories created relatively "local" markets in the 1930s.[14]

The Peace River country was much closer. Early reports by geologists were encouraging enough to result in the staking of 20,000 acres on one January day alone, half of it by an Edmonton syndicate. Up to 10,000 acres per day were being claimed for oil leases during the next few weeks. Imperial Oil drilling rigs were once more the first to head for the Pouce Coupe field; drilling which followed over the next few months was principally American and, evidently, not rewarding enough in petroleum to justify long term continuation. In the next winter, Imperial Oil wells would strike millions of cubic feet of natural gas; but oil, not gas, was the object of the search.[15] Insofar as the Peace River region continued to interest Edmontonians, it was as the newest agricultural settlement frontier.

If the benefits of northern oil prospects were for the time being illusory, they temporarily received excessive publicity because of their association with the new transportation technology of the air. It was possible for some to dream of a new urban prominence for Edmonton as gateway to the north not only because of oil discoveries but also because Edmonton seemed to be the launching site for related new aeronautical experiments. The Journal editor expected airplane transport to distinguish the rush of 1921 from that of 1898 in Canadian history. Late in 1920, impelled by the oil discoveries near Fort Norman, the production manager of Imperial Oil in Edmonton, Charles E. Taylor, persuaded his company to obtain two five-seat airplanes which could be equipped with wheels, pontoons or skis for year-round far northern work. Two Edmonton airmen with wartime flying experience, W. R. "Wop" May and

George W. Gorman, brought the airplanes across the continent from New York in mid-winter, causing a mild sensation on their arrival in Edmonton in frigid wintry conditions. Surely here was proof that Imperial would get the jump on the other prospectors. Unfortunately, subsequent flights to Fort Norman were marked by a series of discouraging accidents directly related to forbidding northern conditions which seemed, for the time being, to demonstrate the impractibility of Arctic air transport.[16]

The flurry of publicity was enhanced by the appearance of aeronautical competitors. In January, as the Imperial Oil airplanes were arriving, another wartime airman, E. L. Janney of Vancouver, brought more grandiose plans which temporarily raised the hopes of intending prospectors who had none of their own transportation plans. Janney proposed to operate large "dirigibles" to transport thirty-two passengers or five tons of freight out of an "air harbour" on land he took an option on just to the south-east of the city. Another enterprising pilot produced an ephemeral scheme involving British seaplanes. A Calgary airman, F. McCall, announced that his new Northern Development Company would bring in six-passenger "flying boats" used by the American Navy Coast Patrol. The New York manufacturer of the airplanes obtained by Imperial Oil arrived in spring to check prospects for himself, then got as far as purchasing the hangar and grounds lease of a local small company and promoting the multi-faceted concept of a seaplane base on nearby Cooking Lake, facilities at Peace River, and airplane and engine assembly plants in Edmonton.

"Wop" May himself, war hero and pilot of one of the Imperial Oil airplanes to Edmonton, then left the service of Imperial to investigate his own business possibilities in this field. By June he had, with local and Toronto interests, proposed a Great North Service airline to be capitalized at $2,000,000 for aerial surveying, aerial photography and passenger service in twelve seat aircraft. By fall, not one of these ambitious projects survived, most of them having proceeded no further than paper proposals and newspaper announcements.[17]

The Board of Trade preferred throughout to keep its collective feet on the ground. If Edmonton was not yet in the air age commercially, perhaps it was far less illusory to plan for the automobile age. The Dominion Government was offering the provinces money for highway construction; Edmonton businessmen, mainly through the agency of a new Edmonton Automobile and Good Roads Association, urged the provincial government to take advantage of the offer. By fall its promoters could take satisfaction from government plans to start a highway to Jasper with a good possibility that a tributary would branch off northward to Peace River territory.[18] All economic visions of any substance seemed to feature Peace River land, the extension of the agricultural base surrounding Edmonton's economic system. That and persistent unemployment were the economic realities of Edmonton in 1921.

Footnotes

1. EJ, October 25, 1921.

2. EJ, January 25, 1921.

3. EJ, January 3, May 6, August 19, September 12, October 22, 1921.

4. EJ, January 7, November 28, 1921.

5. EJ, May 11, 18, 1921, EB, May 16, October 10, 1921. According to Henderson's Edmonton Directory for 1921, 108 real estate agencies served Edmonton in 1921. In 1913 there had been 471. See also City of Edmonton Annual Report, reported verbatim in EJ, November 26, 1921.

6. EJ, January 25, 1921; EB, January 26, 1921.

7. EB, May 17, 1921; EJ, June 30, 1921.

8. EJ, July 23, August 9, September 3, 1921.

9. EJ, January 18, August 17, October 3, 7, 1921.

10. H. K-Y. Lai, "Evolution of the Railway Network of Edmonton and Its Land Use Effects" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1967), 28-29; L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 190-191; EB, April 9, 1921; EJ, September 22, 1921.

11. E. J. Hanson, Dynamic Decade (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1958), 57.

12. EB, January 27, 1921; EJ, January 25, February 19, May 4, 6, June 16, 1921.

13. EJ, June 2, 16, July 2, August 9, 1921.

14. Hanson, Dynamic Decade, 57-58.

15. EJ, January 25, 28, February 9, repeated reports in early March, October 3, 1921. This activity was not significant enough to warrant a single reference in Hanson's background information in his Dynamic Decade.

16. EB, January 6, 1921; EJ, January 7, 27, 1921; Frank H. Ellis, Canada's Flying Heritage (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961), 203-208.

17. EB, January 28, 1921; EJ, June 2, September 8, 1921; Eugenie L. Myles, Airborne From Edmonton (Toronto, Ryerson Press, 1959), 68-69, 71-72, 76, 79, citing information from various editions of EB, January-September, 1921.

18. EJ, August 17, 20, September 6, 20, 22, 24, 1921.

Chapter 20: Formal Municipal Organization.

There were more layers of formal municipal organization in Edmonton in 1921 than ever before, despite a lesser population than in 1914, and despite virtually a dead stop to the earlier expansiveness in urban services. Yet the institutions which had developed during the prosperous years were not only firmly in place, they had even been augmented, for economic depression had proven the responsibilities to which the boom had committed Edmontonians, and of course it raised points of sensitivity for certain sectors of the community. Without radical manifestations, organized labour was solidly entrenched and accepted in Edmonton in 1921, with clearly recognizable functions. Neighbourhood community leagues were newer, yet ensured attention to geographically defined concerns and filled in with recreational services which were abandoned by Council in a period of restrictive municipal finances. The first and obvious reality constantly to be confronted by all municipal groups was the consequence of enormous bonded debt suitable only in the over-optimism before 1913. That debt provided both a focus of attention and a limit to aggressive action in 1921.

The financial crisis with which the municipal year began put the capstone on the cairn of old dreams to such an extent that 1921 became a turning point in urban resolve. Such phenomena as huge shortfalls in tax collection against the assessed expectations were nothing new by this time,[1] but by January, 1921 the disaster had clearly reached a new level. The city's credit was jeopardized, brought to the brink of ruination by an unsettling manoeuvre suggesting amateur incompetence among city officials and justifying a contrasting direct, professional and possibly costly attack upon the problem of municipal insolvency.

The symbolic problem concerned a September, 1920 arrangement by the city with the firm of Morris Bros. in Portland, Oregon "for the purchase of debentures amounting to $2,135,000, interest at six percent on or before the first of January 1921." The point of this was to meet payment of another, maturing debenture issue of slightly more than the same amount in New York the same day. By the end of December, however, Morris Bros. had not yet effected half the sale, and in any case the brokers were evidently subjected to a court injunction preventing bonds from leaving Oregon until well after January 1, 1921, pending an investigation of alleged insolvency. To prevent an embarrassing and serious failure to meet its obligations, the city consulted with the provincial government for a short term guarantee of repayment on an immediate direct advance negotiated with the Imperial Bank. Since this was dated January 3 and the note was eventually paid on July 2, 1921, after gathering interest at an annual rate of seven percent, some costs were obvious and growing during the first half year. Exchange rates and other complications increased the loss ultimately by not far short of $200,000.[2] Here was a substantial sting often enough in the news during the year to motivate ratepayers to accept promises of solutions returning something like the old stability.

The mood of the electorate had already been displayed by late 1920 decisions in favour of mayoral and aldermanic candidates who had specifically advocated retrenchment. Soon after the new Council was installed, the Bulletin editor gave an additional interesting dimension to the grievances of taxpayers with the comment that the tax system was "discriminating" by exempting some 15,000 civic voters out of 27,000 from property taxes, and he doubted that the 15,000 paid income or any other taxes. A recurring if not particularly noble theme during the next year would be the attempt to shift some of the civic tax burden from the normal shoulders onto someone else's, even those who really could not carry it. Board of Trade President S. B. Woods, K.C. and Mayor David M. Duggan were the first off the mark with suggestions for a tax on rental accommodation. The Board of Trade was willing to exempt those already paying other taxes, but Duggan supported the proposal without exemptions to extract from everyone "a just and proper contribution towards education and the city's maintenance and upkeep for such public services as street lighting, fire and police protection."[3] Duggan obviously hoped to force residents to pay according to the list of municipal services they received, not according to the overall measure of benefit they derived from living in the city, a philosophy which would raise strenuous resistance from organized labour and other representatives of the meagerly sustained.

But for the time being Duggan cherished a hope for a charter amendment to allow a rental tax as the limit of his imagination to fulfil his mandate, aside from making effective economies in operations. The proposal brought to Council was for a graduated system exempting the cheapest accommodations, adding tax weight according to residential value for families, but hitting single men and single women harder even in cheaper quarters. Railway unions, the Edmonton Trades and Labour Council, and the Great War Veterans' Association all had reason to send delegations to protest, and were supported by Aldermen James East and Rice Sheppard. Sheppard argued this was the kind of crisis in western development which should be covered by the proceeds of the federal government natural resources monopoly, rather than dumping the load on local workers when local fortunes sagged a little. Alderman J.T.J. Collisson labelled that "cheap talk" and resented it. Though he considered it "ill-advised and improper to arouse class animosities," the rental tax itself was the type of solution which depended on reorientation of the well understood contributions of relatively poor wage earners on the one hand and more affluent property owners on the other. The suggestion proved too divisive to survive despite Duggan's best efforts; a much modified remnant barely got to the Municipal Law Committee of the provincial legislature at the end of March, but even it was rejected.[4]

The general campaign to improve the city's financing could not end, for Duggan had in the course of the rental tax debate referred to the extra expenses of the Portland bond deal losses, growing deficits in city hospital operations and the removal of the temporary income taxing privilege granted Alberta cities by the province between 1918 and 1921 for an advantage of some $185,000 annually.[5] With its commitment to financial solvency, the council was now willing to go to very significant lengths to get help. The kind of help sought, obtained and trusted was a pretty good measure of the collective morass in which Edmonton's leaders believed themselves to be struggling.

Mayor Duggan took the initiative at the end of January, persuading City Council to offer to a particular candidate a position as sole city commissioner aside from the mayor (whose position as commissioner was entrenched in the charter). At the end of the year Duggan would boast that this actually represented a valuable transition to the system of a city manager without having first to change the charter. C. J. Yorath was enticed from a hefty salary of $6,500 as city commissioner at Saskatoon by a major increase to $9,000 in Edmonton beginning March 1, 1921. Yorath's new world experience had been over exactly the right eight years after 1913 to know pretty clearly what Edmonton required. The mystique of the old country was stamped on his background as municipal engineer in the departments at Cardiff, Wales and London, England. His work at Saskatoon brought him a temporary additional opportunity to straighten out Prince Albert's finances. He was "said to have the greatest confidence of the banking and bond houses." Edmontonians were conditioned to look upon all his works in bleak times as miracles. They established Yorath as commissioner by the device of a by-law which could be upset only by a two-thirds vote of Council or by a majority with three months' notice.[6]

In practical terms the city did not require very much from Yorath, and he was yielded plenty of power to manage it. The source of endless delight with Yorath in subsequent months was merely his "uncanny ability to convert deficits into surpluses," an accomplishment for which he was given total control of the costly departments of utilities and public works, while sharing finance with Duggan. To the mayor were left the straightforward operations of police, fire prevention, parks and markets. Yorath was the chief financial director; there was room for only one authority on the civic future, and the mayor had installed his choice. Yorath's role was really quite simple: to give legitimacy to a prevailing acquiescence to retrenchment on several fronts. That meant doggedly persisting with a series of tax schemes to raise more money at the same time as services were systematically reduced and reorganized.

The proposal to tax city owned utilities had appeared even before Yorath, another example of Duggan's determination to distribute taxes among non-property owners. At the end of March the provincial legislative committee responsible approved the necessary charter amendment.[7] Not long after Yorath's arrival, most councillors agreed to set the commissioners working on the appropriate charter amendment for the ultimate expression of this sort of per capita responsibility: a head tax described by the euphemisms "citizen's community tax" or "service tax", with which Calgary had already shown the way. In its first proposed form it was defeated before receiving much study because the Board of Trade regretted the lack of exemptions for "those already heavily overtaxed." Within two months essentially the same tax was back before Council with slightly altered name and provisions. Among the changes was a graduated tax scale based not only upon income level but also on marital status and home ownership. The arrangement encouraged renters, however slightly, to own their own homes, and the orthodox rationale was an intriguing one. It was nothing less than a recognition of the essence of "homeownership" to the financial lifeblood of the city. The Edmonton Bulletin went so far as to describe the comparative scarcity of homeowners in Edmonton in relation to financial needs as a "real and imminent menace. Unless the number of people who are 'tied up' to the city by ownership of property can be increased, there must come a time when its credit will decline to the point of forbidding further borrowing...."[8] The whole strategy of urban development was revealed in that remark, as well as the drive creating the post-war response. Labour and Joe Clarke were not happy about a service tax any more than they had been about a rental tax, the latter seeing it as the typical ploy of property speculators who, having "milked the cow dry," then sought "to get from under the payment of their proper share of taxation... left on their hands when the speculative boom burst." But this minority did not prevent swift application of the new tax to raise some $200,000, at least enough to cover the Portland bond fiasco.[9]

That bond crisis was resolved with more an attitude of penance than one of finesse. Wood, Gundy and Company of Toronto were invited to examine the city's financial situation in May and were allowed more or less to prescribe what would be done. Little of anything remotely like close negotiation appears to have preceded the resulting transaction. Wood, Gundy and Company secured a sixty day option on what had by then grown to more than a $2,400,000 bond issue, to be extended two more months if sufficient of the securities were sold in the first option period. The issue was for twenty years at 7 3/4 percent, somewhat higher than normally expected. It covered a good deal of new capital expenditure for 1921, but the city was to sell no further bonds nor incur further capital expenditures that year, nor any except the unavoidable in the next two years. The commissioners' report admitted the unattractiveness of the 7 3/4 percent rate, but doubted so large an issue could have been floated at a better rate. The level of currency exchange prohibited an issue in the United States. If Wood, Gundy could not sell the bonds, the commissioners argued, then no one could. "The city has to incur the penalty of unsound methods of finance," they gloomed, "and must now make a strenuous effort in spite of adverse circumstances to re-establish its finances." It says something about the depression of the collective urban spirit - yet also about its necessary cohesiveness - that little storm was raised. Only one alderman, Rice Sheppard, observed that this was precisely the kind of economic situation financiers would try to take advantage of. The mildest possible objections were raised to the stoppage of urban utilities development in deprived areas: clearly expectations for development as things were going without the financial consolidation must have been so bleak that no great opportunity seemed lost.[10]

The key, they seem to have felt, was to get the good old days back. In more ways than one property development was still perceived to be the foundation of future Edmonton fortunes, and the commissioners set out to reclaim the wreckage of the past disaster. As a result of repeated tax sales since 1917, the city had access to title to nearly 40,000 lots, a stunning number five times the total of homeowners in the city. (See map on page 463.) But at least the collection rate on taxes was close to three-quarters rather than the half of 1916, and on the remainder of properties modest but increasing numbers of owners were redeeming their lots by arranging back payments of taxes after periods on "extension agreements". For 1921 itself provision was made to stop short of property tax sales if the year's taxes could be paid and a start made on back taxes on an installment plan. Consolidation within a smaller radius - that is, a recognition of reduced urban prospects for a starting point - seemed to be in order. Tax sales in 1921 took on a more hopeful air when owners of far distant lots were for the first time encouraged by the city officials to exchange their almost rural holdings for tax sale lots within the utility serviced region closer to the core.[11]

In August the commissioners recommended another step toward regularization and a new start: to slash land assessment by some $20,000,000 (about 25 percent of the total assessment, or 33 percent of the land assessment). Since some $9,000,000 of this cut would actually be on property going to the city for tax arrears, an apparent price in tax revenue of $800,000 would actually cost only $500,000. But Yorath's point was more positive than that. Unlike Joe Clarke, Yorath was very much committed to getting assessment figures to correspond once more with actual valuations, to create the foundation for a new era of property development in Edmonton. He pointed to "eastern" Canada for his examples of sensible cities for which total land and property assessments were about equal. The two commissioners brought to Council a fat assessment and taxation report which would even anticipate a reduction in the mill rate on top of the assessment reduction. Getting assessment down to property values would depend heavily on provincial acquiescence to a number of crafty devices to share the tax burden. Their proposal to tax church property did not pass Council, but their suggestions to apply for charter amendments doing away with exemptions to colleges, universities, hospitals and dominion and provincial government buildings were enthusiastically received. The property and buildings of the University of Alberta alone were said to have an assessed but untaxed worth of $4,000,000; surely the province rather than the city should bear the cost of a provincial institution. The reverse argument was applied to provincial amusement tax money and motor licence fees collected in Edmonton: here the city would apply to the province for return of 50 percent of proceeds for civic use. The city would, if permitted, replace the service tax with income taxing power. The city would seek the power to collect local improvement taxes to cover water and sewer connections. Utility surpluses would be applied to general revenue (a measure opposed for its application to the poor by labour Alderman East). A variety of civic licence fees would be increased and new ones added. Tax penalties would replace tax discounts in the revenue collection system.

A host of small procedural adjustments would each subtly add charges; but the big changes required to activate the "city managers'" vision would unfortunately have first to pass the provincial authorities at whose expense they would operate. For the very reason that they were municipally popular, therefore, they were unlikely to achieve startling modifications. They are of greater interest for explaining the direction virtually all civic leaders thought their urban finances and development should go, even though they indicate more energy than innovative design in the minds of Duggan and Yorath. The city was hoping to start over again, to recover from the past but not to deviate from the same property-based urban route. Nothing proved this so strongly as the 51 percent reduction proposed in the assessment of Hudson's Bay Company lots. When Aldermen W. C. McArthur and East protested strongly, remembering $10,000 prices per lot at the height of the boom, Alderman Joseph A. Adair actually cited the company's $2,000,000 in property taxes over the previous ten years as reason to give even greater consideration than the reductions proposed.[12]

If he could not guarantee the property tax reductions he proposed so tantalizingly to the great appreciation of Edmonton businessmen, Yorath's place was secure in Edmonton for the time being for other reasons. During 1921 both he and Duggan proved to be very good at paring down expenses. It was Yorath's conviction that rigid economy was essential to debt maintenance, let alone reduction, and he had in Edmonton to deal with the highest per capita bonded indebtedness in Canada: at $439, more than twice that for each of Montreal and Winnipeg, and half again that of Vancouver and Toronto. All year long official monthly reports contrasted a surplus standing for 1921 with a large deficit in 1920. By the time of the annual report in November, figures ~~for~~ the first nine months showed a net surplus of close to $150,000, whereas the city had gotten through the first nine months of 1920 with nearly a $123,000 deficit. The only major department to operate at a loss, the street railway, was more than $90,000 better off in 1921 than it had been the previous year, mainly because Yorath had recognized a major drain and stopped it up by reducing frequency of runs to two-thirds what it had been. His sensitivity and attentiveness on this particular issue had a comic manifestation when he petulantly criticized automobile drivers for contributing to the street railway deficit by giving free lifts to intending passengers.[13]

It helped that City Council was willing to follow a policy of man-power reduction. The payroll for April, 1921 showed 972 employees, 96 fewer than in April, 1920. Most of the reduction had been in the engineer's department, reflecting the discouragement of public works expansion. In search of smaller economies, the commissioners went to such lengths as to negotiate with insurance companies for group employee insurance, thought to be cheaper than the prevailing custom of entitling each employee to two weeks off annually with pay. They urged the substitution of business licence fees for business taxes, the preliminary collection system associated with the former to eliminate the loss of revenue from businessmen who left town before paying the latter.[14] Prune as they might, councillors could not bring themselves to reduce civic grants in the forms of provisions, free utilities, tax cuts or free rental mainly to health and welfare agencies like the two Catholic hospitals ($13,000), the public welfare board ($10,000), the Victorian Order of Nurses ($2,000), the Children's Aid Society ($1,800), the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. ($2,600), the Beulah Home ($1,500) and quite a number of others in small amounts. About 80 percent of this grant money was by 1921 going to the Edmonton Hospital Board, primarily for use in the Royal Alexandra Hospital. About the Board's affairs some economizing could be done, for in addition to their $112,000 in hospital fees and $130,000 in municipal grant, the Board had in 1920 spent another $54,000 which the city was being asked to cover. Indeed, this created an accumulated deficit of better than $200,000. Here the commissioners reduced the annual cost by negotiating the sale of debentures to a sinking fund board over five years to a total of $208,820. The city would annually pay $6,315 for the sinking fund and interest on the debentures for twenty years. Stretching out the repayments (and, once again, the commitment), the commissioners represented that they were saving taxpayers annually some $33,600 or one-half mill.[15]

In all these ways Yorath displayed a single-minded devotion to what he had been hired for: to restore the property based credit of the city preparatory to launching a renewal of the development phase of the urban economy. At the end of the year he could, in an impressive slide presentation, demonstrate to ratepayers a reduction in the overall tax levy, a reduction in the city's bank overdraft, and utilities all operating profitably save the street railway. At that meeting five aldermen praised Yorath lavishly. Both newspaper editors and the Board of Trade joined the chorus. Mayor Duggan was happy with the greater reliance placed on executive officers, especially Yorath, in 1921.[16] The old ideal of managerial efficiency advocated by William Short in 1904 reached its epitome in the midst of the need to recoup the urban.fortune. A huge bonded indebtedness remained the shadow which reduced the scope for the former fierce difference of opinion on Council. Edmontonians, or in any case those residents who had remained since 1913, were accepting the message that past collective commitments should be contended with, that a period of relative sacrifice was worthwhile. Or perhaps the reality was far more compelling; perhaps the urban tyranny was asserting itself: once the variety of collective commitments which produced urban community had been made, there was no longer any collective choice.

The chief unifying theme in formal municipal organization in 1921, then, was financial desperation. The reasons for these woes, the utilities and other services which had been developed at such a great rate, were still available, though they were costly merely to maintain and suffered some reduction. At the same time as paying for the initial establishment of the utilities was an ongoing and massive problem, very little expansion or improvement of the systems was possible. Thus a 1920 plan to build a new $100,000 sewage disposal plant in 1921, which had progressed to the stage of an agreement with a contractor, had to be postponed a year and to be scaled down to halve estimated costs. The civic Public Works Committee early in the year got nowhere in the prevailing atmosphere trying to make a social welfare case for public works when it recommended construction of the new plant as immediate relief for the unemployed. The determination on financial restraint easily overcame humanitarian concerns for the unemployed.

Commissioners likewise recommended against immediate telephone system extensions in the hope that what was already in place would suffice for eighteen months, against the forecast by the Edmonton Telephones superintendent that south side reserves would be exhausted in half a year, and against the willingness of ratepayers to go further in debt for the expansion.[17] In only one major case did the civic administration promote a costly improvement: to install a new unit for the power plant for an estimated quarter of a million dollars. Duggan and Yorath were careful to point out to ratepayers that the intention was simply to prevent complete power failure in a system operating dangerously close to capacity with little reserve should any breakdown occur. The bylaw to raise and spend $275,000 passed, but later appeals by one community league for additional street lighting received only "consideration".[18] Similarly, requests from outlying parts of the city to the north and south for connections to the city's water supply were resisted as long as possible, even though - or perhaps especially because - hundreds of residences were shown to be without water. Extensions eventually approved by Council invariably failed to reach all those for whom they had been requested.[19]

The natural gas franchise was at the bottom of a controversy quite different in 1921 from that it had engendered in 1913: here was a negative illustration of the way collective decisions before the War bound citizens for years afterward. The Northern Alberta Gas Company, whose franchise to deliver gas to the city dated back to the pre-War era, had not lived up to its contract. The matter was before the court in 1921, but some aldermen thought that procedure might take years to cancel the old agreement. While the company tried to negotiate new terms and rearrange its organization, and while another company emerged to offer gas from another field, city council resolved to appeal to the provincial government for legislative cancellation of the original contract. Nothing worked.[20] The pessimism of some aldermen in January about early settlement of this legacy of the boom was amply justified: at the end of the year there was no settlement and no gas.

The pressure for economy which so affected the civic administration in 1921 was every bit as compelling for the public and Roman Catholic school boards. Maintenance of the limited kindergarten program in eight of the city's forty public schools came under attack. The year's estimates were accepted by the public school board only after "considerable cheese-paring", including cuts in supplies and the assumption of no teacher salary increases. The separate school board budget was held to one-tenth that of the public board. Even those sums were threatened by a recommendation of the city commissioners to guarantee only those taxes actually collected, rather than the total due. The public school board purchased and leased land for playground space and the site of an eventual technical school because it was cheap, but resisted construction of new facilities in the face of pressure on existing space in some schools because that was costly.[21]

The collective responsibility for health and welfare, so reluctantly accepted before the War, was impressed upon Edmonton residents in 1921 by the prevalence of contagious disease. An epidemic of scarlet fever had been raging for a year and a half before 1921, while diphtheria infected almost as many and mumps and chicken pox were common. Not only was space in the isolation hospital a problem, but the admission of non-paying patients had contributed to a $40,000 deficit by the beginning of 1921. Early in the new year, while the incidence of new diphtheria cases fell, the number of smallpox cases increased, and influenza killed a nurse at the Roman Catholic General Hospital. The city's Medical Health Officer, Dr. T.H. Whitelaw, blamed incomplete vaccination programs, a lack of citizen cooperation in enforcing quarantine and reporting new cases, and especially inadequate sanitation. City Engineer Haddow, Yorath and Duggan were said not to be impressed by Whitelaw's "camouflage" of health department inadequacies by "passing the buck" to the city engineer's department (responsible for "scavenging"), but the local Academy of Medicine supported Whitelaw's judgment.[22] An air of helplessness prevailed.

The problem could not be ignored, and several groups became involved. Yorath recommended eliminating the Board of Health in favour of returning its work to the City Council's safety and health committee. Council rejected that advice, but stripped the medical health officer and the city engineer of voting power on the Board. Outside organizations were influential on the Board: to fill two vacancies, Council selected the nominees of the Federated Community Leagues and the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council over the nominee of the local Council of Women. From a different perspective, heavy use of the Isolation Hospital excited vehement opposition by surrounding residents on east end 92nd Street to the possibility of its permanent location. Through the legal firm of Friedman and Lieberman, they threatened litigation on the basis of provincial Public Health Act standards about the proper distance an isolation hospital should be from residences. The continuation of poor sanitation conditions brought a complaint to the Board from an east-end storekeeper about the "Grierson dump" near the river, which was said to be attracting millions of flies (some to his store) by the "bad odor" of the refuse.[23]

Although the problems could not be ignored, they could not be solved either because of the potential costs. For the relatively poor, the enforcement of coercive regulations requiring every residence to have sewer and water connections would leave no alternative other than to condemn their buildings. Because of the city's commitment to economy, plans for a new 150 bed permanent isolation hospital remained a matter of public discussion but no action. The Hospital Board, which was immediately involved when construction of hospitals was under consideration, preferred to add a wing to the city's Royal Alexandra Hospital because federal money was available for that in order to relieve sometime soon the small south side hospital which had temporarily been commandeered (on lease) for veterans. Indeed, the Royal Alexandra Hospital absorbed about as much civic money as City Council was willing to release in 1921: better than three-quarters of the annual health and welfare grants, not to mention coverage of operating deficits. The argument raised for increased public grants to the Roman Catholic hospitals, the General and the Misericordia, by their Board representative, H. Milton Martin, that many non-Catholic patients were treated much more cheaply than they would have been in public hospitals, got only a marginal response.[24]

In straightened circumstances, the limited responses to health care requirements nevertheless remained collective decisions. The situation actually increased attention to social welfare. The Public Welfare Board, a semi-private institution, seemed on its way to becoming a fully public responsibility. The Board, on which seven of eleven members were City Council appointees, dated back to 1915. It provided cash, food, fuel, accommodation and medical relief to destitute residents, more than 80 percent of it to families and a good portion of it to mothers unable to provide family financial support. Single individuals, male and female, received far less consideration, and it was a matter of repeated comment that a quarter or third of relief recipients were regularly "foreigners", especially "natives of the Balkan states". The Board was quite uncertain what to do about the "feebleminded" and "mental defectives". Despite a certain residue of reluctance about this kind of service, however, the finance committee of Council recommended the Board no longer be forced to rely for half its income on private subscriptions, but that it be financed entirely out of the general civic fund. The Journal editor supported such a move, partly on the basis of precedent in other cities, partly on the emerging theory "that the relief of misfortune is an essential and proper function, in which the entire community should bear its part."[25]

The needy had been conspicuous in Edmonton since 1913, and the trend to public assistance reflected public acknowledgement of individual distress in the city. Regular small grants already noted to other benevolent agencies may not have been significant financially, but they gave public recognition to their private work. The Safety and Health Committee of Council was an important standing committee; moreover it paid serious attention to representations deploring sanitary conditions in some parts of the city and calling for better regulation of the milk supply.[26] Precisely when other civic programs were being curtailed, therefore, health and welfare was taking an increasing share of collective attention in the years succeeding the boom.

Recreation, on the other hand, belonged to the classification of reduced civic services, in very noticeable ways. A west end suburban park site was leased to a private citizen for five years. The position of recreation commissioner, suspended at the beginning of the War, was not revived by the Council after a special committee study; instead voluntary support of such an official by "the various public-spirited bodies in the city" was recommended, over the objection that the cost of supervised children's recreation, for example, would be a small public price to pay to avoid juvenile delinquency and crime. The city took no coordinating part in public celebrations of the May 24th, Dominion Day, or even Civic holidays; only an annual "civic picnic" late in August survived.[27]

Although the city did add to the number of outdoor skating rinks and did make plans to expand the municipal golf course and to build a swimming pool at the exhibition grounds, there were complaints that maintenance of parks was inadequate. One commentator grieved particularly over the neglect of Victoria Park (a riverside park) and Groat Ravine. At the former, "the grounds are sadly out of repair, the fences down, and the seats broken." At Groat Ravine, "this little sylvan valley," he missed the work of the caretaker who had once attended to it, "making pleasant paths through it; building rustic bridges and seats, ...keeping the underbrush not too wild and not too greatly thinned." In 1921, however, not even landslides of several years past had been cleared away.[28] The situation was perhaps best illustrated by reference to the east end park by this time known as Borden Park.

Borden Park and the new fairgrounds (leased to the Exhibition Association since 1919) were generally thought of together, situated as they were side by side with no partition between. The relationship of the City Council and the Exhibition Association, which it annually subsidized to the tune of $45,000, was repeatedly emphasized in 1921 by the question of which body should properly carry the greatest share of maintaining both fairgrounds and park. The subsidy guaranteed that the Exhibition Association would leave the grounds open to access free of charge except during fair days, but in the wake of a small Association deficit for 1920, some aldermen, notably Joseph Adair, wished to attach stringent conditions of budget control to the municipal grant. Rumours that the subsidy might be dropped and complete control of the grounds might be given to the Exhibition Association brought an east end delegation protesting the potential restrictions that could mean on access to Borden Park and its skating pond. The popularity of the park was such that the Mayor was persuaded by reports of a "lawless element" roving about in it during the evenings to establish a mounted police patrol. Despite the desire for economy, therefore, the city was under pressure to maintain the park's accessibility. In the fall a suitable solution seemed at hand: to separate fairground from park in order that access to and maintenance of the former could be left with the Exhibition Association, while the city could guarantee that Borden Park would remain open.[29] The significance of the issue lay in the way the public desire for park facilities temporarily conflicted with official civic insistence on economy.

Even the "city beautiful" campaign was expressed in

1921 in pedestrian terms in contrast to the grandiose visions of 1913. The interest was not all that different, as the Methodist Rev. W. H. Irwin put it in a supportive May sermon: "Let us make this city a garden of sentiments that will be deep and lasting. Let us have not only a beauty of landscape but the beauty of friendships. Let Edmonton be a place of peace, harmony and hearty cooperation for the public good." But the main project was to clean up, private yard by private yard, and householders were urged to burn "combustible trash" and get the rest into the lanes to be carried away, and then to paint their homes. The only project to alter the appearance of Edmonton was a campaign to plant thousands of local trees, an operation which involved not only the city engineer's department and the school board, but also the active manual cooperation of Gyro, Kiwanis and Rotary Club members to plant them in public places, and the participation of hundreds of citizens on their own lots.[30] Thus, while the scope of civic government was restricted in this collective area as in others, the emphasis on citizen cooperation was actually enhanced.

If the central coordination of parks and recreation was made to suffer some of the impact of civic financial restrictions in 1921, a good deal of the slack was taken up by the new neighbourhood "community leagues", which dated back only to 1917. Then there had only been one; by 1921 there were ten with additional interest evident in other districts which would organize more during the year. As one of the newer ones, Bennett School Community League on the south side, announced, each league was "organized to promote the interests of the people of the district and to form the basis for social and educational functions." This league and several others provided recreational facilities which would not otherwise be available. Several, including Bennett, maintained sizable outdoor skating rinks which attracted children after school hours. Westmount and Highlands community leagues, at opposite ends of the city, sponsored tennis clubs. Indeed, Highlands Community League, in an affluent far eastern district, sported three tennis courts, a lawn bowling green, a baseball diamond and a skating rink, all kept in excellent condition. Admittedly, the Highlands league was not quite typical, in its facilities, serving as it did a well-to-do clientele, and evidently having acquired most of its land as a result of the largesse of a wealthy widow.[31] Community league facilities would reflect the means of the people they served.

Whether they borrowed school facilities or had their own, the community leagues all made efforts to organize social and educational programs. Several held regular entertainment programs, many offering little more than vocal and instrumental musical solos, but others imaginative enough to exhibit burlesque sports events, to promote a league orchestra, and to plan dramatic presentations. Several also sponsored regular lecture series on a variety of topics, and the Bennett League at the end of the year sought to introduce a debating society and classes in home nursing. There were skating carnivals and frequent whist drives and dances, some of the latter masquerade affairs, one a winter "moccasin dance" on an ice rink.

Field days on festive occasions began to appear at the neighbourhood level. The May 24th events sponsored by the 142nd Street Community League had become an institution already, with the boy scouts on parade, crowning of the May Queen, Maypole dance and evening fireworks supplementing the usual races, games of baseball, cricket and football, and the community supper. The same league organized a Labor Day fair in September. The Highlands League used its multifold facilities for a picnic and sports day on the August civic holiday. The South Side Community League promoted perhaps the largest such event, building on a long south side tradition. On July 1, at the South Side Athletic Association grounds, some 4-5,000 persons took in track and field events and horse racing during the afternoon.[32]

Some of this was reminiscent of the entertainments of the entire community in 1898, and indeed one objective of league organization was to overcome the impersonality of urban size. Partly this was to be accomplished by neighbourhood recreation but, equally important, it was to be fostered by local discussion and representation of neighbourhood issues to civic authorities. To this end Duggan and Yorath were invited to some league meetings to explain the restrictive financial arrangements of the year. Aldermen East and A. R. McLennan spoke to the Bonnie Doon Community League in opposition to the proposed rental tax in February. The West Edmonton League sought and got a branch library service from the Public Library Board. Aldermen J. C. Bowen and V. T. Richards along with Yorath and the street railway superintendent were invited to a meeting of the Calgary Trail and District Community League to defend a proposal to reduce service on a south end (McKernan Lake) street car line. Citizens challenged the civic experts' statistics purporting to show low usage, and University of Alberta Professor W. H. Alexander pointed out the service had been guaranteed by the old terms of amalgamation. A League committee went on to study the possibility of a more direct route in order to make a recommendation. Resolutions did come to City Council from community leagues. Forest Heights League sent a delegation of members to demand eradication of weeds along streets and sidewalks in their vicinity, removal of refuse from dumping spots on vacant lots, repair of a dangerous culvert, and situation of a polling station in their area. The South Side League pressed for extensions to the south side market and for public lavatories. Bonnie Doon residents wanted water system extensions and more adequate street car service, and the King Edward Park League lobbied for water extensions and street lights.[33]

These sorts of pressures were the extent of the objections of Edmontonians to the financial policies of Duggan and Yorath, for invariably they would be met with reasons for delay pending fiscal improvements. Community leagues in 1921 seemed to defuse neighbourhood frustrations by expressing them in an apparently important way, yet allowing them to fade into oblivion if necessary in accord with total urban policy. Community leagues themselves persisted, without any dramatic escalation in their impact on civic policy save perhaps as training fields for politicians going on to broader arenas.

Highlands chairman A. U. G. Bury launched an unsuccessful campaign for election to the provincial legislature as a Conservative candidate, and Garneau chairman A. L. Marks ran as an independent prohibitionist. One might very well question whether the community leagues did not sacrifice neighbourhood identification early in the year by negotiating the formation of a city-wide Federation of Community Leagues which went on to coordinate some equipment purchases (for example, a movie projector) and to represent collectively what were perceived as common problems. In 1921 these were not very mighty. The Federation resolved to ask for increased police patrol of outlying districts and for stringent enforcement of city traffic speed regulations. Otherwise, the delegates were preoccupied with the attempt to achieve community league representation on city boards.[34]

With hundreds of members each, the community leagues were not inconsequential, but the large Edmonton Board of Trade provided the chief business representation of the city as a whole. Determined effort drove the 1921 membership up to 755, not quite as good a showing as the previous year, but still plenty to fill sizable sections dedicated to advertising Edmonton, agricultural products, livestock, coal, engineering and contracting, finance, insurance, real estate, manufacture, the professions, retail trade and wholesale trade. Building large section memberships, encompassing as many as possible of Edmonton's entrepreneurs, thought the Board secretary, was crucial to the Board's purpose. "The two factors in our work," he told the annual meeting of the Board, "centralization of community efforts through our organizations and the development of our city and district, are inseparable." He envisioned the best effect to come from a totally coordinated urban business, and in 1921 the centralization had proceeded even further. Edmonton's Board now participated not only in the Alberta Associated Boards of Trade, but also in a western Canadian association.[35] A goodly portion of the business population of Edmonton continued in relatively hard times to seek solutions in common. "Our future as a great city is assured," went the retiring president's classic booster's statement of forced optimism, "but if we are to realize the most in our day and generation, we must believe in our city, we must have confidence, we must be enthusiastic and we must work and strive together in unity and harmony."[36]

We have already seen that few economic opportunities were available for expansion; the Board therefore grasped at rather long-range alternatives. The most far-fetched proposition, its barrenness proving the faintness of real prospects, was first recommended in January by the Board secretary, A. M. Frith. Frith thought the time was ripe "to make Edmonton known to the world" through a massive advertising campaign to dwarf the paltry $1,000 spent over the five preceding years. He was able to raise little enthusiam for his project until June, when the oil fever had begun to fade. Then Frith on behalf of the Board approached both City Council and the United Commercial Travellers for support in a campaign to "Boost Edmonton" throughout central Alberta. As the Board moved into new quarters, vigorous optimism seemed in order.

Professor Alexander provided the eloquence for the point of view that business enterprise and industry within the city required enthusiastic boosterism outside in order to succeed commercially. A special committee of the Board began immediately to devise methods for attracting tributary business from farther away even than Lacombe, seventy miles distant. The committee sought to encourage wider Edmonton newspaper sales, improved mail and train service, wider patronage by train of Edmonton cultural events and other entertainment, including a new winter bonspiel carnival, and a "manufacturers' and wholesale buyers' week" in the fall.[37]

By August committees had plans underway to sponsor a "Reception Week" for people of surrounding districts in conjunction with the "Civic Welcome" planned for legislators in October. The resulting "Capital City" reception involved a fancy dress ball, fifteen other dances, community singing led by a combined Rotary, Kiwanis and Gyro Club chorus, a special concert by the fifty member Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, which included a smaller contingent from the G.W.V.A. and 49th Battalion bands, and a public speech by the new premier.[38] It was this desire for "valuable publicity to the city" which convinced the Board in November to launch a "whirlwind campaign" for funds to support the marvellously successful Edmonton Eskimos football club on a trip to Toronto for a final Canadian championship game against the Argonauts.[39]

That approach meant little more than making the best of things as they were; some fall hoopla over northern agricultural development was more of the same. Recorded in regular front-page newspaper accounts, the Board in August and September sponsored a trip for leading businessmen and professionals to the Peace River country in conjunction with a convention of the Associated Boards of Trade of Northern Alberta. The convention identified all the services which needed to be developed in the Peace River country for agricultural prosperity, chief among them railway connections and population settlement. But the Peace River district was obviously the last agricultural frontier, not a new economic departure.

The other proposition was a little more far-reaching. As early as May the Board gave access to some of its facilities to the Edmonton Automobile and Good Roads Association, but in July and August the partnership was extended to a joint campaign to gain government support for an Edmonton to Vancouver highway project through Jasper. A joint luncheon meeting was dressed up with the publicity of an automobile parade along a route festooned with Union Jacks and blowing factory whistles. The Board petitioned the provincial premier for the highway. Before the end of the year the same man, John Blue, was paid secretary for both organizations. The Edmonton Journal took up the project, the completion of which seemed a mirage with but sixty-three miles of poor highway so far constructed west of Edmonton. The dream of a westward trade route was equally evident in the persistent efforts of the Board to reduce prairie freight rates. It enlisted the support of Vancouver boosters, who anticipated as the rewards of a coordinated fight the development of Vancouver and B. C. manufacturing and the development of a Pacific outlet for

Alberta grain.[40]

Boosting economic prospects for Edmonton continued as formerly to be the fundamental collective urban responsibility of the Board of Trade. There was, however, something unique in the Board's program for 1921 in comparison with its pre-war functions. "The activities of the board," said the retiring President in his annual report at the beginning of the year, "have broadened and in addition to commercial and industrial problems have embraced social and community welfare." He meant that the Board contributed financially to the Public Welfare Board, to the provision of hospital accommodation, and to the placing of disabled soldiers in employment positions. Presumably "community welfare" meant the Board's support for the Mendelssohn choir and the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra, or the end-of-year financing of the football team. In August the Board invited to one of its luncheons the "fraternal, business and social orders of the city" to hear a description by an Olds, Alberta clergyman of his "Christian Home for orphans." Although little came of the prospect, the purpose was evidently to consider raising some $10,000 in Edmonton to construct and equip an "Edmonton Cottage" along the same lines to care for orphans of northern Alberta.[41] But if the pressures of a slack economic period and post-war unemployment contributed something to a collective social conscience for the Board of Trade, there was still evidently plenty left over to concern an entirely different group, organized labour.

Organized labour had a major and, most important, a recognized and non-controversial place in the Edmonton of 1921.

Into its sixteenth year of continuous coordination of craft-organized trade and labour unions in Edmonton, the Edmonton Trades and Labour Council retained undisputed primacy as the voice of Edmonton labour. The events of 1919 had worked to consolidate the E.T. and L.C. position, while the allied Dominion Labor Party owed its existence to the tensions created by militant manoeuvres of a radical minority in Alberta unionism.

In January, 1919, the provincial convention of the Alberta Federation of Labor (with which the E.T. and L.C. and most of Edmonton's unions were affiliated) repudiated the militant Socialist Party of Canada by a decision to establish as its political arm the Alberta Section of the new Dominion Labor Party. It is true that this decision was matched by S.P.C. success in sponsoring and having passed resolutions in favour of general strike tactics, industrial union organization and support for the Russian revolution, but for Edmonton the decision on political affiliation meant the rejection of relatively militant labour and political lights like Sarah and Joseph R. Knight, Carl Berg and John Maguire in favour of D. K. Knott (Typographical Union) and Elmer E. Roper (Printing Pressmen) who were elected vice-president and secretary respectively of the new party.[42]

When Knight and "Edmonton Local No. 1" of the Socialist Party of Canada retaliated in Edmonton with the publication of sporadic editions of The Soviet, it was to strike an attitude of confrontation. The activities of the Socialist Party local occasionally involved minor meeting-house verbal and physical confrontations with members of the Great War Veterans' Association. The Veterans were, whether as a result of reality or imagination, the object of some animosity among local Ukrainian and other alien immigrants who petitioned Ottawa in March to complain of being rejected for employment in favour of returning soldiers. *The Soviet* duly reported this as evidence of purported class conflict. When the spectacular Winnipeg General Strike actually took place in the late spring and summer of 1919, *The Soviet* snorted at reports insisting the struggle was not a class one: for *The Soviet*, class conflict was the essence of the strike.[43] Dominion Labor Party luminaries like then-Mayor Joe Clarke, Alderman James A. Kinney, Joseph Adair and E.T. and L.C. secretary Alfred Farmilo were suspected in *The Soviet* of being mere Liberals.

In March, 1919, a Western Labor Conference was held at Calgary as the outcome of a western caucus decision at the Trades and Labor Congress at Quebec in September, 1918. At this conference delegates resolved, but far from unanimously, to support the ideal of One Big Union, the ultimate expression of industrial unionism, over the standard Canadian tradition of affiliation by local unionists with international trade unions. Edmonton delegate Alfred Farmilo, although himself willing to see some modifications of trade union organization along industrial lines, was nevertheless loyal to the existing framework and registered his objection at the conference to separate organization. The next E.T. and L.C. meeting, a stormy one, rejected the O.B.U. resolution over the counter-objections of Knight, Maguire, Berg and their followers.[44]

The Soviet and the O.B.U. issue generated a response: the much more moderate Edmonton Free Press, organ of both the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council and the Edmonton branch of the Dominion Labor Party. It was launched in April, 1919 to be transformed into the provincial Alberta Labor News in September, 1920. As events in Winnipeg escalated to the 1919 general strike, the controversy was debated in Edmonton mainly between rival labour factions, with the effect of containing the heat of emotions and avoiding any effect on the Edmonton community at large. The trade unions' parent American Federation of Labor took an active hand, paying Farmilo to act as a western organizer to maintain the trade union organizations. By the end of April the more militant "secessionist" members were purged from the E.T. and L.C.; it was they (Carl Berg prominent among them) who supported the "Federal Labor Union #49" and formed the bulwark of the Edmonton Strike Committee during the period of the Winnipeg General Strike. Even though a great many more unions (the majority) eventually voted to join a sympathetic strike beginning at the end of May and petering out by the end of June, the division of leadership among unionists and the outright opposition of prominent unionists like Roper, E.T. and L.C. president Robert McCreath (Typographical Union), secretary Farmilo (Stonecutters) and School Trustee Alex Campbell (Letter Carriers) prevented any semblance of a solid front and substituted internal bickering for external violence. Even among O.B.U. supporters there was a basic division between Berg, champion of classic industrial unionism, and the Knights, who sought to promote in the O.B.U. the objectives of the Socialist Party of Canada. Essential services remained in place. Absence of disruption permitted Mayor Clarke to curtail potential hysteria within the business community; this in turn reduced any risk that squabbling unionists might unite behind any concerted demonstration.[45]

Residual animosities dissipated rapidly in 1919-20. Joe Knight moved on to Toronto, eventually to ~~the~~ Canadian Communist Party. An Edmonton Central Labor Council of the One Big Union was formed in October, 1919, but began immediately to decline. Carl Berg, who became its secretary early in 1920, was himself alienated from the One Big Union over national internal disagreements by the end of the year. From the beginning of 1919 he had remained a staunch industrial unionist, opposed to the efforts of S.P.C. organizers to politicize the new organization; by the end of 1920 he looked in another direction. Those union locals of bricklayers, carpenters, mining and metallurgical workers, and railway workers who were briefly estranged from the E.T. and L.C. during the 1919-20 O.B.U. enthusiasm, usually had not separated formally and were able easily to reintegrate with the E.T. and L.C. The Socialist Party of Canada strength dwindled while the Dominion Labor Party thrived, relatively speaking. *The Soviet* disappeared in August, 1919, leaving the field to the *Alberta Labor News* under the editorship of Elmer Roper.[46]

The brief flare of labour radicalism in western Canada enabled the Trades and Labor Congress and its Edmonton component to clarify their sense of organized purpose. They were following mainly the style of Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor, modified by the British example of labour in politics. The purpose of the E.T. and L.C., as President McCreath told the Edmonton Kiwanis Club, was to function collectively "for the benefit of the community as a whole."[47] The president of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress, Tom Moore, carried the theme into further detail in an address to a combined meeting of the Edmonton Canadian Club and the Edmonton Board of Trade. Moore argued "that organized labor in this country was a great force in the establishment and maintenance of a high standard of citizenship" based on three principles: liberty ("not...the freedom of an individual to conduct himself in a manner that is detrimental to the best interests of other sections of the community....[but] the liberty to do that which is for the good of humanity"), discipline (acquired by voluntary creation of and conformity to organizational rules), and collective social responsibility (in terms of pressing for social welfare measures on child and public health, support for widows, workmen's compensation, housing, factory safety, unemployment insurance). In an open public meeting later, Moore added to this theme the value of international community in trade unionism: the benefit of mutual support supposedly combined with national and local autonomy.

These views would not appeal, conceded the Alberta Labor News, to "revolutionary opponents of trade unionism," advocates of the "misery theory" that "any relief of the conditions under which the workers live and labor, are but hindrances in the way of the final overthrow of the capitalistic system." Revolution, mused Elmer Roper, had only an illusory appeal, for "under present conditions, with the heart breaking struggle for existence, the average worker, with the lack of opportunity for education and mental advancement, is just as much at the mercy of revolutionary windjammers as he is under the domination of his present day economic masters." Working class emancipation would in fact only be achieved gradually through "economic solidarity on the industrial field, political action and co-operation" to reach for the humanitarian objectives of "better health conditions, better housing, opportunities for education, higher wages and shorter hours of labor." A regular contributor to the Alberta Labor News Women's Page objected to the radical doctrine "that capital and labor can have nothing in common," and to allegations from the Winnipeg headquarters of the One Big Union that "Mr. Moore was playing the traitor to Labor by addressing a supposedly capitalist organization" like the Canadian Club. "Are not those outside the Labor movement the people who should be educated to the aims of that movement?"[48]

The E.T. and L.C. - Dominion Labor Party representation of labour's role in the community did not pass entirely unopposed, even in the Edmonton of 1921, but the voices of confrontation were somewhat defused by the demise of the One Big Union. By the beginning of 1921 local coal miners had voted to return to the international trades and labour organizational structure. Lumber workers had broken in a different direction, spearheading a new attempt at national industrial unionism. All that were left to the O.B.U., apparently, were about fifteen building tradesmen and sixty-five transport workers, not all of them even within the city itself.

The Edmonton branch of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union of Canada became an alternative focus of militant but non-political unionism in Edmonton. Carl Berg was its most prominent local activist. This union's tone contrasted vividly with that of the E.T. and L.C. It sponsored occasional Sunday afternoon summer meetings on the market square intended particularly for the edification of migratory lumber workers temporarily in town. One afternoon the topic was "Industrial Unionism and has the migratory worker done his share in the revolutionary movement;" afterward a collection was taken "to help defray the expenses of our delegate to the Trade and Industrial Union conference in Moscow." In certain circumstances the new union could cooperate with the O.B.U. remnants in the city, as when in June representatives of the two organizations, the Socialist Party of Canada, the Labor Church, an unidentified Ukrainian association and the aberrant Independent Labor Party met to plan a picnic to raise funds for a workers' defence committee in Winnipeg and a "Defence Committee of Class War" prisoners in the United States. Earlier, in January, Labour Alderman James East chaired meetings in the Bijou and Gem Theatres organized by the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union to raise funds for the "Soviet Russia and Ukraine's Medical Relief Committee." Joe Clarke and socialist Winnipeg Alderman

A. A. Heaps contributed addresses.[49]

On another occasion in October and November, deemed non-political, even the E.T. and L.C. joined the other groups in a Carl Berg-chaired meeting of the Edmonton Branch of the Canadian Famine Committee for Soviet Russia to campaign for funds to enable the Russian Red Cross to alleviate starvation conditions in Russia. They even put up with the assistance of Joseph Knight, visiting after a trip to Russia as O.B.U. delegate to the labour conference mentioned above, which led to the founding of the International Congress of Revolutionary Trade and Industrial Unions (Profintern) and the imposition of Soviet leadership on Canadian communist organization.[50] But it was clearly only the humanitarian aspect which attracted E.T. and L.C. cooperation; illustrative of their attitude was an editorial by Elmer Roper supporting Carl Berg, not unreservedly, but for his dedication to alleviating suffering among the locally unemployed in the face of O.B.U. criticism that Berg was thereby undermining the anti-capitalist fight: "Carl Berg or any person else who puts forth an effort on behalf of the immediate comfort of the workers will come in for abuse at the hands of the misery propagandists."[51]

It remains to explain the peculiar temporary situation in the midst of Edmonton labour affairs of the Labor Church. Another outgrowth of 1919, the Edmonton Labor Church, unlike Labor Churches in other western Canadian cities, began as a special mission of the Alberta Conference of the Methodist Church, which supplied the clergyman, G. L. Ritchie, to take the Gospel to "the unchurched labour of Edmonton." But by

1921 Ritchie's efforts to walk the tight rope between maintaining the Christian perspective of the church without alienating the leading radical unbelievers who were his target landed him on the side of sponsoring mainly secular talks and discussions. Carl Berg, for example, liked to use the Labor Church to draw in and educate those who shunned militant labour or socialist meetings for fear of being labelled anarchists. The Labor Church, at first meeting in one or the other of the city's theatres and then settling into the Gem on east Jasper Avenue, still had a valuable function, but not the one first envisioned. Ritchie resigned the Methodist ministry in June and apparently faded out of Labor Church participation. It remained a fairly well attended Sunday evening forum run by a committee of members for assorted secular topics as well as the logical focal point for cooperative humanitarian appeals of the sort noted above for relief of Ukrainian or Russian destitution. During election campaigns it became one of the campaign meeting sites, particularly for various brands of socialist and labour candidates.[52] Here again was a meeting point between the E.T. and L.C. and the Dominion Labor Party on the one hand and their assorted competitors for working people's allegiance on the other. Whatever their inter-relations, however, none of the more militant organizations in Edmonton had either man-power or projects of enough significance to threaten E.T. and L.C. and D.L.P. supremacy in the field in 1921.

The E.T. and L.C. represented about 65 unions in 1921 with membership which may be estimated conservatively at 5,000 and might have included hundreds more. The Women's Trades Union Association was a member.[53] These unions were able to exert collective pressure on their members' behalfs at the level of their own particular trades, the city as a whole through the E.T. and L.C. and the D.L.P., the province through the Alberta Federation of Labor and the D.L.P., the nation through the Trades and Labor Congress and the D.L.P., and theoretically, the continent through the American Federation of Labor. In fact, their interest and activity was generally and most effectively confined to the local level and even there, as one union reporter put it, "a select bunch of 'Georges'" was normally left to conduct business. The social aspect of organized fraternal community drew its membership little better than the business part for most unions. There were exceptions. The firefighters spent far more effort on athletic than on union organization: regular meeting attendance was once described as "a disgrace", while attendance at a sports meeting on another occasion was "enormous".[54]

The various railway unions were also socially active, particularly the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and their ladies' auxiliaries, styled the "Northern Lights Lodge" and the "West Edmonton Lodge", which assisted in the organization of regular dances and annual banquets. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers enjoyed the assistance of their own Alberta Division Ladies' Auxiliary. The international organization even of these ladies' auxiliaries is indicated by a September visit to Edmonton of the Grand President of the Grand International Auxiliary of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers from Cleveland, Ohio. Dances for the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen were likewise organized by its Ladies' Society. Altogether, representatives of some eight union locals planned a grand railway employees' picnic. That kind of annual event was popular in the summer. An overall "labor picnic" was held on the July first holiday. Both the civic service union (municipal) and the civil service union (provincial) organized massive picnics in August at Alberta Beach; 1,000 to 1,500 attended each.[55] But these highlights belied the general rule.

Few unions appear to have organized dances or athletic events. There were of course some whist drives, dances, picnics, soccer, hockey, and indoor baseball games throughout the year, but participation was limited. "Record attendance" at an E.T. and L.C. whist drive and dance amounted to no more than 325. If there was massive union solidarity in fact as well as in organization, it must have been expressed adequately for most in mere membership, or in more informal fellowship. Labour leaders appear to have felt some frustration. Prior to the provincial election campaign, Edmonton Dominion Labor Party secretary E. J. Thompson gave vent to his pessimism in one public blast:

> Wake up sluggards every one of you. It was men like you that caused our present conditions....Your future will be crossed and recrossed by shadows of unemployment and hard times - and many situations of unfairness will meet you - unless you move....[to change circumstances in which] the wage earners' life is a ceaseless struggle against odds, a continual looking forward to better times that never come - a football for financial kings and political parasites. The sponge from which all wealth is wrung.

Union members were not moved. Elmer Roper editorialized at the end of the year on the contrast farmers' organizational and political success presented to labour's apparent apathy, lack of group consciousness, and disbelief in the efficacy of D.L.P. candidates.[56]

But if no enormous enthusiasm was stirred during the year, the unions did have the organizational structure, the procedures and the contacts to gain the ear of influential elements in the community should events require it on a day to day basis. Unions with particular grievances they could not seem to redress in direct negotiations with employers could and did bring them to the E.T. and L.C., which often represented individual unions to civic or provincial authorities. The carpenters, for example, complained of the contractor building a new wing to the Royal Alexandra Hospital offering wages below the rates stipulated by the city's fair wage clause to apply to all city construction. Lavatory facilities were alleged to be below reasonable sanitation standards at most city construction sites. The Council in turn appealed to City Commissioner Yorath and struck a committee to monitor the situation. Yorath gave firm directions to the contractor, who adjusted his wages and working conditions to proper standards.[57] The union organizations, then, did at least provide well recognized "channels" for redress of labour grievances.

Recommendations requiring provincial or federal policy changes or legislation were forwarded to the relevant coordinating labour organization. In return, the coordinating bodies passed back recommendations for standard union policy.[58] Since the pronouncements of the encompassing Federation and Congress responded to diverse sources and interests, they were rarely as gripping as locally developed issues. In the Edmonton of 1921 there were three city-wide problems which absorbed unionists: taxes, public health and unemployment.

The E.T. and L.C. had no positive solution to the problem of civic revenue, but certainly reacted against a suggestion by the president of the Edmonton Board of Trade, Sidney B. Woods, K. C., that the city establish a rental tax. The Trades and Labor Council was believed to represent the bulk of the renters who would be affected. Labour alderman James East believed they were already sharing in property tax payments within their rental payments. Alfred Farmilo, in a formal E.T. and L.C. presentation to Council, pointed to the simultaneous tendency of employers to lower wages. An alternative solution was not easily discovered, but an income tax seemed likely to keep the tax burden on those better able to sustain it.[59] When the idea of a rental tax was abandoned, a proposed tax (later approved by the City Council) based on services provided drew the same response from labour representatives, for as former Mayor Joe Clarke observed, the largest land holders, including speculators, would derive the greatest benefit, whereas the standard property tax was intended originally in part to force speculator landowners to release vacant and unused land. He thought a more equitable alternative would be increased property tax on unused land holdings, particularly those of the Hudson's Bay Company, Revillons' and Swift's, which were a costly burden on city service development.[60]

The public health problem was equally frustrating. Provincial department of health statistics for March made Edmonton's situation look peculiarly unfavourable in comparison with Calgary's: 106 infantile deaths in Edmonton compared with 66 in Calgary; 108 scarlet fever cases to 35; 41 diphtheria cases to 9; 32 smallpox cases to none at all. With city health experts confounded, there was little the E.T. and L.C. could do except express the mounting concern of its members and deplore a reported statement by Medical Officer Whitelaw that he had the "better class" of citizens and the doctors behind him, and that he had somehow been hampered by the previous year's mayor, Joe Clarke. An investigation of all possibly contributory city conditions was proposed, whether sewer pollution or city health department inefficiency. Allegations of surgical mistreatment in what one E.T. and L.C. delegate called operating room "butcher shops" were given similar publicity. By the end of the year, however, on this very technical problem, the E.T. and L.C. could add nothing more than to call for a single board to direct both health department affairs and hospital services.[61]

Rampant unemployment struck closest to home. While the Great War Veterans' Association did much of the lobbying, this problem was not confined to returned soldiers alone. Unemployment in Alberta and Edmonton had escalated briefly in the winter of 1920, then dropped off once more, only to reemerge in November. While the rate in Alberta remained a fraction of the national average until early 1921, by April that fraction was about three-quarters of the national average of 16 percent of trade unionists reporting and, moreover, the Alberta extreme (probably concentrated in the cities) was in the building and construction unions: 38 percent compared with the 20 percent national Canadian average. This proportion dropped only to one-quarter during the summer when construction should have absorbed all available manpower, but Alberta building permits were less than half the 1920 totals during most of the 1921 summer. On the other hand, the building and construction category was not massive, only 8 percent of the total reporting. Other trades received no relief through the summer.[62] In Edmonton unskilled labourers (not included at all in the Department of Labour figures) made up by far the heaviest proportion of the unemployed: more than one-third of the 1,052 registered unemployed at the provincial government Labor Bureau in early July. Furthermore, Edmonton Trades and Labor Congress secretary J. J. McCormack argued there were far more jobless Edmontonians than those actually registered.[63]

Both the provincial government and the G.W.V.A. operated Labor Bureaus to assist in placing the unemployed in paying position, chiefly farms, in building construction, or in railway construction or operation. September was therefore the most favourable month for the conjunction of various kinds of employment, but toward the end of October the end of the grain harvest swamped both labor bureaus, which each saw 200-300 applicants daily. By the end of November the provincial agency was back up to a list of 800 and growing. While the harvest hands initially had some money, and skilled tradesmen other than those in building and construction seemed not as heavily affected, a massive relief problem was anticipated. In the federal Minister of Labour's dispassionate assessment, the causes were international and therefore neatly outside the department's control: "The dislocation of export trade, caused by the inability of the European countries to purchase our goods, accentuated because of debased currency, together with the universal buyers' strike at home, brought to Canada in the autumn of 1920 a serious industrial depression" which set off a chain of economic circumstances ending in massive unemployment.[64] The workers represented in the E.T. and L.C., if they could not see ultimate solutions to the root problems, could and did concentrate on more local alleviation of the distress which arose.

In January J. J. McCormack was with the delegation of the advisory committee of the provincial Labor Bureau to City Council asking the city to undertake public works projects like a proposed 101st Street subway and a new railway depot. Though those projects were not specifically undertaken, the city did in March increase its temporarily employed contingent (a relief measure) to 168 from 31 in February and 68 in March 1920. In February, 1921 a delegation of city carpenters visited Premier Stewart with the news that 125 carpenters were out of work and the suggestion that contractors for a university construction project forego "favouritism" in hiring in favour of attention to the most needy applicants. In June, after several months of worrying about the appalling unemployment statistics which were not alleviated much by the onset of spring, the E.T. and L.C. sent its executive committee to press Premier Stewart for a convention of Alberta and Canadian government representatives with G.W.V.A. and labour representatives. Timing on this was good: an approaching provincial election increased the Liberal provincial government's sensitivity. On July 20 the Premier convened one meeting of civic, provincial and federal government officials with the Edmonton Board of Public Welfare, G.W.V.A., Alberta Red Cross, U.F.A., and Trades and Labor Council representatives - some thirty individuals in all. His U.F.A. replacement after the provincial election, Herbert Greenfield, called another on August 23. Their major consideration was winter relief to the destitute unemployed, and the cooperation of the three levels of government was to involve federal and provincial cost sharing and local administration. In the cities this meant recommendation of relief committees, each composed of representatives from the Board of Public Welfare, federal Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, G.W.V.A., Canadian Patriotic Fund and Red Cross. Emphasis was also placed on better utilization of federal housing money for public works in the city which would also ease a housing pinch.

The important point here is that the tri-level deliberations and decisions owed something to the initial lobbying of unionists. When the Mayor wanted to put part of relief work wages into an unemployment relief fund against the workers' possible winter unemployment, it was to the E.T. and L.C. it submitted the proposal for acceptance or rejection. Similarly, his desire to have a lower rate of pay for relief work was blocked by the city's understanding with the E.T. and L.C. to pay union wages on civic works.[65]

A year of high unemployment was not, as some unions soon discovered, a particularly good year for driving collective bargaining for wages and working conditions through to strikes. For the most part, recognized unions found their collective voices for the time being impotent against evidence of cost of living reductions: Letter Carriers, Carpenters, Teamsters and Chauffeurs, United Mine Workers, Typists, Bookbinders and Pressmen all tested their employers.[66] More than 1,100 civic employees represented by several unions including the Civic Employees' Federal Union and the Civic Service Union faced the possibility of 7 to 15 percent pay cuts.

This last major and very public case was handled with supreme care and skill by the Mayor and the Commissioner, so much so that the editor of the Alberta Labor News commended them for their respectful attitude. Duggan and Yorath were reconciled to and adept at dealing with unions, which they met with collective power beyond that of the city. From the beginning of the year they intended to reduce civic wages within their general objective of reducing civic expenditures and debt. But their approach to this sensitive aspect eschewed haste and depended on a united front of prairie municipal leaders. In January a conference of Alberta mayors agreed to avoid sweeping civic salary cuts if possible until mid-May, after which quarterly adjustments would be in order. Mayor Duggan also emphasized there would be no increases, but the effect of the announcement was probably like a reprieve. In

February several unions made representations for better wages and holiday conditions. Protracted negotiations followed, while civic officials avoided inflammatory statements. Compromises were reached and adopted by Council without controversy in April, but the issue was not dead. In August the Mayor and Commissioner Yorath proposed and Council approved the arrangement of a conference of western urban commissioners to standardize wages and working conditions in western cities. The forthright Alderman Adair immediately saw the point of the move: to him, it was a "step in the right direction" toward "bringing the control of the budget back to council, where it used to be, instead of leaving it with a union." The Bulletin editor cagily suggested uniform wage rates would benefit not only the cities, which would avoid extreme wage demands, but also the workers, who would avoid pressure by taxpayers in individual cities for extreme wage cuts.[67]

Two more months were allowed to elapse while officials in other cities were contacted and while the idea became commonplace. Early in November, the major prairie cities save Winnipeg met in conference at Medicine Hat. Once more the financial miracle workers, Duggan and Yorath, brought back a debt and tax reducing formula: a cross-the-board cut in civic wages to correspond to cost of living trends and the practices of railways and other major industries. A complex formula to take into account increases in cost of living since 1914 less large recent decreases would yield an average reduction of 12 percent, though varying according to differences in union gains since 1914. Overtime and holiday conditions would be restricted. The affected employees finally mobilized to resist by forming a Western (really Alberta) Federation of Civic Employees which met at Calgary later in November and decided to carry on into 1922. E.T. and L.C. secretary J. J. McCormack was chosen secretary to maintain the organization as needed.[68] But once more the Mayor's timing was right, for before the issue was to be resolved all the evidence of smooth and successful financial retrenchment would win Duggan a solid mandate in December for the next year. The significance of this interesting chain of events was that institutions were in place by 1921 for urban units to manage their relationships collectively, applying not only to the town's business and municipal leaders, but also to those working for them.

For school teachers - specifically high school teachers - and the public school board, 1921 was a year of struggle over such collective arrangements. In February the High School Teachers' Alliance (a local branch of the Alberta Teachers' Alliance) submitted a request for salary increases. Not only did the Board reject any salary increase whatever, but it withdrew the Alliance's privilege of having a representative participate in Board meetings, on the principle that teachers should in this respect have no different representation from other citizens. All could observe the open meetings from the gallery. Board chairman William Rea had suggested teacher representation of any sort in the meetings themselves smacked of undue "Tammany" influence. The Board was consciously rejecting the Alliance claim to special corporate status, and in this they reflected a similar provincial confrontation. The

Alberta Teachers' Alliance judged the current contract form used by the Alberta Trustees' Association (of which Rea became chairman early in February) to be "not reciprocal". To resolve their differences Alberta Education Minister George P. Smith called an early March conference of four representatives from each side under the chairmanship of his deputy minister. Though a few small matters were cleared up, the basic Alliance desire for recognition by the trustees of the Alliance as sole representative organization for the teachers was not achieved. Thus rumours of local High School Alliance determination to strike coincided with the parent Alberta Teachers' Alliance resolution at a late March provincial convention to assess members ten percent of monthly salaries for a strike fund. While the High School Alliance was not a member of the E.T. and L.C., Roper, Farmilo and McCormack spoke to the A.T.A. convention, and E.T. and L.C. President Robert McCreath was thanked for exerting influence on the High School Teachers' behalf during the local negotiations. School trustees Frank Scott and S.A.G. Barnes, supported by the E.T. and L.C. and the Dominion Labor Party, had originally opposed the rejection of salary increases because, in comparison with other professionals, they felt teachers suffered financially and required better inducements to stick with teaching as a career and thus improve teaching standards.[69]

Matters came to a head in April, beginning with a second rejection by the Board of teacher representation at Board meetings over the opposition of Scott and Barnes. A strike of high school teachers was announced Saturday, April

9, and Alliance leaders seemed equally upset by the failure of salary negotiations and the allegedly "insulting" attitude of School Board chairman Rea. While different parties expressed different points of view on the controversy, there was a universal understanding of the basis of the conflict. Some Board members and the Edmonton Bulletin referred often to the necessity of avoiding the "soviet principle" of dictatorship to the public by the Alliance, making it a question of whether the Alliance or the taxpayers were to control Edmonton schools. The next Alliance objective, argued the Bulletin, would be the closed shop. Servants of the public ought not to try to force the duly elected trustees to accept their participation in Board meetings; furthermore, pointed out trustee W. H. Alexander, a University of Alberta professor, the teachers had lobbied during the last election campaign for a voting representative on the Board. With nearly 1,800 students affected, the Board tried to carry on at least partial service with substitute and volunteer teachers. Trustees Scott and Barnes naturally opposed this, Scott evidently characterizing the move as opposition to organized labour in general. Again there is no doubt, as the Alberta Labor News pointed out, that recognition of the legitimacy of Alliance representation of teachers was at issue.[70]

A month before the strike was declared, the Edmonton Journal declared it would be fruitless because Edmontonians would be torn between desires for fair treatment and for curtailing taxes. Letters to editors did indeed appear to confirm the supremacy of the latter concern, one citizen evincing outrage at the size of current teachers' salaries in comparison with what "ordinary" people lived on. But as we have seen, salaries were not the most important objective of the teachers, even though they claimed to have realized a mere three percent real increase since 1914. Recognition was important. When the E.T. and L.C. sought Board of Trade cooperation to get the two sides together, therefore, the teachers were far more eager than the School Board to acquiesce. A meeting of 2,000 citizens showed public impatience, and McCreath and Board of Trade President S. B. Woods used the occasion to direct that impatience into support for their resolution in favour of a return to negotiation. The first four and one-half hour meeting on April 20 was a failure. The School Board, mindful of its original principles, rejected an Alliance offer to go back to work with Commissioner Yorath as arbitrator for the dispute. Finally on April 23, two weeks after the beginning of the strike, trustee Alexander found the compromise which allowed both sides a measure of satisfaction. A standing "conference committee" of two Board members would be appointed specifically for meeting teachers individually or in groups to discuss their problems: these might or might not be Alliance representatives. The committee would report to the Board and would have authority to make minor adjustments only. Here was limited recognition. Barnes tried to limit the teacher side in such meetings to Alliance representatives because "they want some standing for their association," but he was overruled in favour of Alexander's compromise. While some trustees might see this solution as a way around recognizing the Alliance as the sole voice of teachers, the Alberta Labor News was ready to see in it all the Alliance's demands conceded: recognition, the principle of collective bargaining, and board representation. The first conference committee meeting took place less than a month later.[71]

Besides achieving a measure of collective recognition for the teachers, the incident demonstrates the established place of the E.T. and L.C. in the community alongside the Board of Trade. They were not conceived of as the same kinds of institutions, of course, but E.T. and L.C. President Robert McCreath was, after all, a leading Presbyterian just like many professionals and businessmen. When he was elected for a fourth successive term, the Journal editor remarked that "those who have been in touch with the public activities of Mr. Robert McCreath, and particularly those who have the honor of knowing him personally, need no other evidence of the responsible character of organized labor in Edmonton...." While the Bulletin was never quite so laudatory, it refrained from comments about the E.T. and L.C. as antagonistic as those it made about the O.B.U., whose message was described as "the gospel of direct action; of class war; of revolution....destruction not construction" for "a proletariat dictatorship such as now prevails in Russia....of those who don't and won't work." By way of contrast, Mayor Duggan and Board of Trade President W. J. Thompson were pleased in January to speak at the opening of the Alberta Federation of Labor convention in Edmonton, where they respectively described organized labour as "one of the most important [components] in the construction of society" and the

Federation as "one of the most important associations in the province." Of course Duggan "was pleased to note the discouragement on the part of organized labor of all extremists and their methods and the tendency to promote a spirit of evolution and not that of revolution," and Thompson liked the "spirit of broadmindedness and fairness" by which he thought the Federation was animated. The Labor Council and Federation appealed to these civic leaders precisely insofar as they were agencies of accommodation rather than confrontation of diverse social and economic interests.[72] When the E.T. and L.C. later in the year began renting space in the old telephone block from the city, Duggan once again praised the consistency of E.T. and L.C. policies, then suggested an extension to organized labour's usefulness from his point of view: to take responsibility for training "foreigners" to assimilation into Canadian public life.[73]

Their actual community services were more modest and directed toward urban integration. Early in January the local Council did something that might have been expected of the Board of Trade: requested the assistance of the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs and the Board of Trade to supply automobiles for a tour of the city by visiting delegates to the Alberta Federation of Labor convention. Throughout the year the E.T. and L.C. participated in planning for the standard holiday events: Victoria Day sports with the G.W.V.A.; Dominion Day with a picnic and sports day; the civic banquet for the new government and legislators of Alberta in October with representation, and of course Labor Day. Labor Day was an opportunity for advertising the significance in the community of organized labour. Planning and hall rental got underway early in July, and the occasion itself was bolstered by some extra reading material. The Alberta Labor News prepared a 128 page supplement of advertising, history and inspiration which tended to present an image of a well established major civic organization.[74]

It helped, of course, to have its legitimacy recognized by a new Minister of Labour in the U.F.A. government after July who was a Calgary labour representative. The Department of Education solicited curriculum advice from the E.T. and L.C. (and received requests to end military training and improve preventative health options). The Minister of Labour, Alex Ross, was believed to have initiated a new University of Alberta extension course for working men involving a series of lectures about industrial economics. That recognition was important and eagerly sought was illustrated by the sensitivity of some to a February invitation from the Exhibition Board of the city for the E.T. and L.C. to appoint an "associate director". There was some worry that the invitation was tokenism intending no E.T. and L.C. influence, but J. J. McCormack was ultimately selected to attend on the justification that opportunity for direct participation in Exhibition Board deliberations should not be rejected.

Finally, enthusiasm for typical urban service contributions was shown in the response to the E.T. and L.C.'s recreation committee's report early in the year. It indicated E.T. and L.C. cooperation with the city, the Board of Trade, the Rotary Club and certain women's organizations to provide both organization and financing for a school and church boys' hockey league involving some 700 boys and a young men's baseball league. The committee proposed and the Council eagerly accepted the opportunity to have this service recognized in the provision of E.T. and L.C. trophies for the winners of each of these competitions. As the Alberta Labor News explained it, "By the donation of these two trophies the Trades Council has shown their [sic] desire to support and encourage clean wholesome sport among the younger boys of the city,"[75] but as we shall see, that dedication was by no means unique to the Council. The E.T. and L.C. was joining a significant urban bandwagon, contributing to an urban unifying institution. In 1921, harmony within the Edmonton community was labour's keynote.

9 There was unusual opportunity in Edmonton in 1921 for divergent aims to be expressed during election campaigns, but only the last of the three was civic. In the provincial and federal elections of July and early December, the unique factor was the candidacy of United Farmers of Alberta representatives. In both cases Edmonton representation suffered. In July a sweep of the five Edmonton seats by Liberals was largely nullified by the U.F.A. control of rural Alberta and replacement of the Liberals in the provincial government. In December the rural sections of the three constituencies impinging on Edmonton ensured the election of U.F.A. candidates.[76] The political influence of Edmonton was for the first time consid-

erably muted in provincial government affairs, and was not enhanced at Ottawa either.

There were aspects of more direct significance for civic affairs. During the provincial campaign Joe Clarke alienated the Dominion Labor Party by campaigning for a rival non-aligned "Independent Labor Party" whose candidates had no chance of success. One D.L.P. stalwart suspected, given Clarke's known Liberal affiliations, that Attorney General Boyle was using "Clarke bunk" in the Edmonton ridings to split the labour vote.[77] The effect certainly was to separate Clarke's populist appeal from the E.T. and L.C. and D.L.P. claim to represent working people. But Clarke came back in December, securing the Liberal nomination for the constituency which included east Edmonton and running an effective urban campaign. Although the D.L.P. ran no opposing candidate, Elmer Roper as editor of the Alberta Labor News repudiated Clarke's pretensions to support from organized labour and branded him a self-seeking traitor to those who had supported his election to the mayoralty in 1918 and 1919.[78] In the end the early December timing of the federal election may have done more than D.L.P. opposition to remove Clarke's kind of politics from the December civic election campaign.

Early in the year Clarke had been an extremely interested onlooker at an abortive court case brought by another mayoralty candidate of 1920 alleging corrupt practices by Mayor Duggan which might have tended to help defeat Clarke as well at that time.[79] That controversy had faded away, however, just as Commissioner Yorath began to administer his wonder cures to the city's financial ailments. These, and not Clarke's invective, became the framework of the civic campaign, which got underway in earnest at the annual ratepayers' meeting at the end of November. At that meeting Duggan took credit for the appointment of the "city manager", who in turn received "tumultuous applause" from the audience and generous praise from five separate aldermen. So identified with administrative efficiency, Duggan proceeded to emphasize an attractive aspect of it: continued tax reductions. A "Citizen's League" slate ran for aldermanic and public school board positions on Duggan's (and Yorath's) coattails, first and foremost supporting their retrenchment policies.

These were clearly candidates of the establishment: A. U. G. Bury was an Irish lawyer associated in his practice and his politics with the former Conservative M. L. A., A. F. Ewing; T. P. Malone was a businessman and president of the fourteen member Federation of Community Leagues; Col. C. Y. Weaver, D.S.O., was a veteran of the 49th Battalion; K. A. Blatchford was a one-time champion athlete and now a director of the Exhibition Association; Mrs. W. J. Ross' candidature was endorsed by the Local Council of Women, Edmonton Women's Institute, and the Lloyd George chapter of the I.O.D.E. Running for a position on the public school board, Ralph Bellamy, the son of a veteran municipal politician of Edmonton, was a lawyer and Rhodes Scholar. The only addition to Duggan's platform consistently ventured by Citizen's League candidates was the tantalizing but long-term proposal to build new facilities: schools to ease overcrowding (Bellamy); sewers to improve public health (Bury); a subway to combat unemployment without resorting to the soup-kitchen variety of expenditure (Blatchford). Duggan and the Citizen's League candidates enjoyed the support of both newspapers.[80]

Ranged against the Citizen's League was the partial slate of the Dominion Labor Party (in reality the slate of the E.T. and L.C.). Only three labour candidates, including the veteran James East, contested the seven available aldermanic seats, but labour candidates concentrated on all four school board positions. On school matters the labour candidates perceived the same problems as the Citizen's League: overcrowding and financial restrictions against building to overcome it, although one, Frank Scott, also raised the possibility of supplying books and materials to pupils free of charge. But on Council affairs there was considerable divergence. East vigorously opposed the service tax, for example, and the D.L.P. platform called for such procedural changes for selection of civic officials as proportional representation, abolition of property qualifications, promotion of civic servants on the basis of merit and seniority, and election of all members of boards controlling publicly paid institutions. The D.L.P. platform advocated municipal ownership of public utilities, and lease rather than alienation of currently owned land to improve financial returns.[81]

The D.L.P. ran three ineffectual aldermanic candidates and there were no fewer than seven independent candidates, most of whom simply favoured economy in civic administration. One of the two opponents faced by Duggan, Alderman W. C.

McArthur, attempted rather crudely to highlight instances of elitist preference in Duggan's administration, but with not nearly the flair Joe Clarke would have mustered. Duggan was accused of promoting civic wage reductions without concomitant cuts for department heads; of granting undue tax and utility rate reductions to large corporations like the Hudson's Bay Company and the Canadian National Railway while ordinary household rates were raised; of putting hospital improvements before elimination of sanitary hazards like open dumps. None of it seemed to make the slightest impression in 1921: Duggan defeated McArthur by a two to one margin while the third candidate received only a handful of votes. Moreover, the turnout was small.[82]

The most striking aspect of the results, in fact, was not a reflection of any sparkling confrontation, but of the institutions which had developed in Edmonton for the expression of gently polarized views. The six Citizen League candidates all became aldermen, leaving one of the vacant seats to James East. On the other hand, three of the four labour candidates triumphed in the school board elections, leaving the other vacant seat to Ralph Bellamy. Together, Citizen's League and D.L.P. candidates shut out all other contenders.[83] In combination with the nature of the mayoralty campaign, the results indicated that an agreeable way had been developed in Edmonton to represent the views of enterprise and labour, with all the class, ethnic and residential complications these categories entailed, in the deliberations of common municipal agencies to determine collective policy.

Footnotes

1. John C. Weaver, "Edmonton's Perilous Course, 1904-1929," Urban History Review, no. 2-77 (October, 1977), especially 26-32.

2. Edmonton City Comptroller's report, verbatim, in Edmonton Bulletin (EB), August 29, 1921; Attorney General J. R. Boyle's account in Edmonton Journal (EJ), July 15, 1921; Edmonton Commissioners' Annual Report, verbatim, in EJ, November 26, 1921. See also EB, January 3, 1921; EJ, January 14, 1921.

3. EB, January 5, 1921; EJ, February 2, 1921.

4. EJ, February 2, 14, 16, 23, 1921; EB, April 1, 1921.

5. EJ, March 10, 1921.

6. EB, January 27, 1921; EJ, January 27, 28, 31, November 29, 1921.

7. EB, April 1, 1921.

8. EJ, March 8-11, May 5, 1921; EB, May 26, 1921.

9. EJ, May 18, 25, June 4, July 25, November 26, 1921; EB, August 29, 1921.

10. EJ, May 4, 9, 11, November 26 (annual report of city commissioners), 1921.

11. EJ, May 7, 9, 14, 17, 31, June 8, 1921. For background, see E. H. Dale, "The Role of the City Council in the Economic and Social Development of Edmonton, Alberta, 1892-1966" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1969), 155-162.

12. EJ, July 20, August 20, September 12, 16, 20, October 27, November 9, 26, 1921.

13. EB, April 12, 26, 1921; EJ, May 7, 20, 23, June 20, July 19, 30, August 19, October 20, November 26, 1921.

14. EJ, May 17, 27, 1921.

15. EB, January 8, 1921; EJ, January 28, February 4, August 23, 1921.

16. EJ, October 29, November 29, 1921; EB, December 1, 1921.

17. EJ, February 19, May 9, June 14, July 19, 26, 1921.

18. EJ, May 3, June 6, 10, 14, October 25, 1921.

19. EJ, May 3, October 11, 25, November 9, 16, 1921.

20. EJ, January 25, February 23, March 1, May 7, September 7, October 11, December 22, 1921; EB, April 1, August 31, 1921.

21. EJ, February 7, May 6, 20, June 3, 24, July 20, August 19, September 12, 16, October 5, 7, 27, 1921; EB, April 26, 1921.

22. EJ, January 6, 31, June 18, 29, July 2, 1921; EB, February 7, 11, May 7, 1921.

23. EJ, June 18, 29, July 2, 23, August 12, September 16, 20, 30, 1921.

24. EJ, January 7, 28, February 1, 4, 24, 26, May 3, 4, 25, 30, September 8, 24, October 5, 11, 18, 25, November 2, 5, December 3, 6, 1921.

25. EB, January 12, April 26, 1921; EJ, February 2, August 15, October 22, 25, November 2, 1921.

26. EJ, May 11, 20, June 10, 1921.

27. EJ, January 25, February 2, May 25, June 27, July 2, 23, August 6, 9, October 25, 1921; EB, August 29, 1921.

28. EJ, February 2, May 18, 25, October 22, 25, 1921.

29. Dale, "The Role," 197-198; EJ, January 3, 6, 8, 19, 25, February 4, 23, March 10, October 7, 11, 1921; EB, January 29, 30, 1921.

30. EJ, May 2-14, 31, 1921.

31. Helen M. Eckert, "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta" (Unpublished M.ED. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1953), 94-99; EB, January 3, 1921; EJ, January 7, 26, May 4, 7, 25, June 7, October 18, November 28, 1921.

32. EB, January 3, May 25, 1921; EJ, January 6, 7, 26, 27, February 18, May 7, June 4, July 2, 30, August 15, September 3, 12, October 7, 18, 25, November 2, 28, 1921.

33. EJ, January 8, 27, February 18, 23, March 11, June 27, July 26, October 29, November 16, 1921.

34. EJ, March 8, May 3, 5, June 28, 30, October 14, 1921; Eckert, "The Development," 94-99.

35. EB, January 25, 1921; EJ, January 25, May 9, 18, 20, 23, 27, June 1, August 15, October 28, 1921.

36. EJ, January 25, 1921. See the prairie booster's pattern described in Alan F. J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in A. F. J. Artibise, ed., Town and City (Regina, Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1981).

37. EB, June 27, 1921; EJ, January 25, June 20, 28, 29, 1921.

38. Ibid.

39. EJ, August 17, September 10, 27, October 7, November 16, 1921.

40. EJ, May 12, August 4, 19, 23, September 1, 2, 3, October 27, November 1, 15, 1921.

41. EB, January 26, 1921; EJ, January 25, August 15, 1921.

42. William R. Askin, "Labor Unrest in Edmonton and District and Its Coverage by the Edmonton Press: 1918-1919" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1973), 54-58; David J. Bercuson, Fools and Wise Men (Toronto, McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1978), 78-79; Gerald Friesen, "'Yours in Revolt': The Socialist Party of Canada and the Western Canadian Labour Movement," Labour, vol. 1 (1976), 139-147.

43. Sporadic editions of The Soviet, February-August, 1919: G.A.I.A.

44. Askin, "Labor Unrest," 59-64; Bercuson, Fools, 109-110, 122; Martin Robin, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880-1930 (Kingston, Queen's University Industrial Relations Centre, 1968), 78-79.

45. Askin, "Labor Unrest," 64-68, 82-105; Bercuson, Fools, 110-111, 120-132; Friesen, "'Yours in Revolt'," 152; Alberta Labor News (ALN) supplement Labor Annual, September 3, 1921, 41-42.

46. Askin, "Labor Unrest," 68-81; Bercuson, Fools, 164-9; ALN, May 21, 1921.

47. ALN, January 29, 1921; and for background see Robert H. Babcock, Gompers in Canada: A Study in American Continentalism Before the First World War (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1974).

48. ALN, June 4, 1921; EJ, May 31, 1921.

49. ALN, January 1, March 12, April 9, May 28, June 25, 1921; Bercuson, Fools, 168-9; EB, January 7, 1921.

50. ALN, October 15, 22, 29, November 5, 1921; Bercuson, Fools, 220-3; William Rodney, Soldiers of the International: A History of the Communist Party of Canada 1919-1929 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1968), 36, 44-50.

51. EB, January 7, 1921; ALN, December 17, 1921.

52. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1971), 160-3; ALN, January 22, June 11, July 16, 1921; EJ, January 22, October 22, 1921.

53. ALN supplement Labor Annual, September 3, 1921 quoted federal Department of Labour Annual Report for 1920 listing 63 unions in Edmonton, 42 of them reporting 3,867 members. This probably includes the few non-E.T. and L.C. unions. Early in January, 1922, five more Edmonton unions were added to Alberta Federation of Labour membership. See Labour Gazette, vol. 22, no. 2 (February, 1922), 189. In January, 1921 the E.T. and L.C. delegate membership totalled 110. ALN, January 22, 1921. On the women's organization see ALN, March 12, July 9, 1921; EJ, March 8, 1921.

54. ALN, report of Local 817, International Association of Machinists, January 1, 1921; January 15, March 12, 1921.

55. EB, January 3, August 29, 1921; EJ, January 31, May 21, June 27, July 23, August 6, 9, 19, 23, 29, September 13, November 1, 1921.

56. ALN, July 16, November 5, December 17, 1921. Other social occasions are noted sporadically throughout ALN, EB and EJ. For an excellent description of the earlier Hamilton experience of worker unity in union fraternal entertainments, processions, demonstrations and self-education programs, albeit with a rather optimistic view of its impact on the larger community, see Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict (Montreal, McGill - Queen's University Press, 1979), 35-70.

57. ALN, May 21, June 25 and August 6, 1921. Gerald Friesen expresses a more critical estimate of the standard trade union organization in "'Yours in Revolt'" at page 153: "Significantly, since the internationals controlled the basic policies on economic and jurisdictional questions, urban and provincial councils became the home of intense political discussions which had no other outlet than debates in the national Congress or lobbying missions to provincial capitals." It is this urban lobbying which seems to have been most important both for giving an element of the population the impression at least of local voice and for reducing any perception of need for irregular protest.

58. ALN, January 1, 22, February 12, August 13, December 24, 1921.

59. ALN, February 12, March 12 and 26, 1921; EJ, February 18, 23, 1921.

60. ALN, May 14, 21, 1921; EJ, May 18, 25, 1921.

61. ALN, March 12, April 30, May 7, June 11, December 24, 1921; EJ, May 3, 7, 1921.

62. Labour Gazette, vol. 21, no. 1 (January, 1921), 74; no. 6 (June, 1921), 814-817; no. 7 (July, 1921), 934-941.

63. EJ, January 25, 1921; EB, July 23, 1921.

64. EJ, August 23, October 20, 22, November 28, 1921; Labour Gazette, vol. 21, no. 10 (October, 1921), 1280-81; no. 11 (November, 1921), 1399-1401; vol. 22, no. 2 (February, 1922), 220-3.

65. Labour Gazette, vol. 21, no. 5 (May, 1921), 711; no. 8 (August, 1921), 997; no. 10 (October, 1921), 1280-1; no. 9 (September, 1921), 1154; EJ, January 25, July 20, August 23, 24, September 1, 1921; ALN, January 8, February 5, May 21, August 27, 1921. E.T. and L.C. members in their early deliberations expressed typical distress at employment of married women and a nearly 15 percent increase in average house rental rates over twelve months.

66. ALN, January 15, April 2, May 21, 1921; EJ, January 20, February 7, May 4, 7, 18, 1921.

67. EJ, January 10, 11, August 23, 1921; ALN, February 19, March 19, 1921; EB, April 12, August 29, 1921.

68. EJ, November 3-5, 1921; ALN, November 26, 1921; Labour Gazette, vol. 21, no. 12 (December, 1921), 1445-6; vol. 22, no. 1 (January, 1922), 37-8.

69. ALN, February 19, 26, March 26, April 2, 1921; EJ, January 28, February 9, 18, 23, March 7, 1921; EB, January 10, April 2, 1921.

70. EB, April 2, 8, 11, 12, 19, 1921; EJ, April 13, 1921; ALN, April 23, 1921.

71. EJ, March 10, April 14, 19, 23, May 16, 1921; EB, April 11, 19, 21, 25, 1921; ALN, April 30, 1921.

72. ALN, January 15, 1921; EJ, January 10, 19, 1921; EB, May 18, 1921.

73. EJ, October 3, 1921; ALN, December 10, 24, 1921.

74. ALN, January 8, March 12, July 9, September 3, 10, October 8, 1921; EJ, July 5, 1921.

75. ALN, February 12, 26, March 12, April 23, September 24, October 8, 22, 29, November 12, 1921.

76. EB, July 18-20, December 5-7, 1921; EJ, July 19-21, December 5, 1921; ALN, July 23, December 10, 1921.

77. EB, June 30, July 18, 1921; EJ, July 7, 16, 19, 1921; ALN, July 9, 16, 1921.

78. EJ, October 19, November 2-4, 15, 29, December 5, 1921; EB, November 30, December 2-7, 1921; ALN, November 12, December 3, 10, 1921.

79. EB, January 10, 25, 1921; EJ, January 8, 24, February 14, March 11, 1921.

80. EJ, November 29, December 6, 10, 1921; EB, December 1, 9, 10, 1921.

81. ALN, December 10, 1921; EB, December 9, 12, 1921; EJ, December 10, 1921.

82. EB, December 9, 13, 1921; EJ, December 10, 12, 13, 1921.

83. EB, December 13, 1921; EJ, December 13, 1921; ALN, December 17, 1921.

Chapter 21: Voluntary Associations.

The pattern of voluntary organization set in 1913 was more or less maintained to 1921, with the inevitable difference that the intervening war had increased the military flavour of the available societies; memories had not yet waned. The war effort had also emphasized service at home, so that the work of service clubs was somewhat augmented. Since the Great War had the peculiar dual image of an enterprise simultaneously British and imperialist, Canadian and nationalist, there were repercussions for ethnic and nationalist organizations, whether alien or patriotic. That prohibition had been an outcome of the war also had its impact on Edmonton organization. In fact, the war displayed very well by its specific example the extent to which local organization was attuned to more universal concerns in terms of original purpose, while nevertheless imposing a network of overlapping unions upon the people of Edmonton.

A host of small clubs came and went or carried on as though the war had little effect. The Philosophical Society at the University of Alberta heard a visiting professor from the University of Rochester discuss "Systematic Moral Education" in the fall. The Edmonton Branch of the Society of Esoteric Law preferred to hear about reincarnation. The Edmonton Homing Society sponsored 500 mile pigeon races while the Edmonton Humane Society collected funds from a parade and tag day and the Northern Alberta Game and Fish Protection Association staged crow shoots. Local branches of such Canadian associations as the Alpine Club of Canada and the McGill Graduate Society carried on diverse programs. The Edmonton

Horticultural and Vacant Lots Garden Association promoted quality and beauty in vegetable and flower shows, while a shorter term Edmonton Paint Club expanded the aesthetic scope to the city beautiful, awarding prizes in six districts for the best presentation of garden, grounds and new house paint job.[1]

Variety according to interest group was a hallmark of the city, although it ought to be noted that the forms of organization were replicated with remarkable consistency. Variety and sameness were twin urban characteristics, nowhere so obviously as in the tenacious fraternal orders and their women's counterparts. On the one hand the vast number of choices among these societies had survived. It had even been enhanced by the appearance of bizarre new possibilities like the Khadra Sanctorum, No. 165, of the Oriental Order of Humility and Perfection, which attracted some 100 couples to a masquerade ball. If that was not satisfactory, the "James Donnelly" and "Shakespeare" lodges of the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes, the first in Alberta, were established during the year.[2] On the other hand the several local branches of the standard orders persisted with traditional amusements. When the Maccabees planned their winter season in the fall, it was to include card and dancing parties and a bazaar. Bridge, whist and "500" were the card games dominating the afternoon "cup and saucer socials" of the ladies' auxiliaries, while their "Hard Times", "Cinderella" and informal dances combined often with whist drives, or in the summer replaced by picnics, brought the fraternities out of their regular meetings for mixed relaxation. Special recognition was sometimes accorded at church services, as when some 200 Independent Oddfellows marched to the music of the Great War Veterans' Band to Knox Presbyterian Church to join the ladies of the Rebekah Lodge in a service shared by clergymen of Knox, Wesley Methodist and First Baptist churches. The war impinged with another kind of recognition: on a different occasion the Oddfellows gathered at south side Mt. Pleasant cemetery for a memorial service.[3]

In this era of prohibition, the Knights of Pythias and the Pythian Sisters appeared to thrive, judging by the establishment of additional "temples". So also, however, did the non-prohibitionist Knights of Columbus. Provincial Grand Lodge conventions for the various orders continued to occur and visiting provincial officials like the Worthy Grand Matron of the Order of the Eastern Star continued to set the norms. Members of the Masonic orders in Edmonton totalled 1,500. They had created an urban collective manifestation known as the "Dekan Grotto", which brought hundreds of them together periodically, led by their "monarchs, nobles and other plenipotentiaries", for such entertainments as vaudeville at the Pantages theatre or a picnic at east end Borden Park.[4]

Their facilities were common halls, identifying their memberships as something considerably broader than a local elite. The lodges still comprised, in fact, a very widespread form of association for the express purpose of companionship. Quite different were the Edmonton Club and the Edmonton Golf and Country Club, both achieving a degree of exclusiveness by the necessity of healthy annual fees to pay for the clubhouses and related facilities. Yet within a more restricted membership, a similar sort of fellowship and collective recreation was the objective. Although Edmonton Golf and Country Club fees went, for example, in part to pay for hired help, they also covered the costs of half a dozen dances each year.[5]

Collective working representation for the members of elite clubs was accomplished through the Edmonton Board of Trade, and through professional and specific businessmen's associations. There was a new Edmonton Press Club. Engineers added not one but two institutions. When C. J. Yorath and others wished to hear professional papers and participate in professional debates, they attended local, provincial or national meetings of the Engineering Institute of Canada. But for practical regulation of the profession, the operative organization was the Association of Professional Engineers of Alberta, just incorporated in 1920. Perhaps businessmen were introduced to professional associations through the common meeting place of the Board of Trade; in any case, the participation of Edmonton businessmen in these kinds of organizations appears to have increased markedly by 1921. An Edmonton man was reelected chairman of the Alberta branch, Canadian Manufacturers' Association. The Retail Merchants' Association continued active, dealing in one direction with the City Council committee on charter amendments and in the other direction with the Retail Clerks' Association in an effort to abolish Saturday half-holidays in shopping. Its national expanse was manifested by a visit of its dominion secretary. The Edmonton

Poultry Association still met regularly and staged its annual poultry show.[6]

But there were new entries in the field. Stockyard and packing plant representatives, commission managers, speculators and salesmen formed the Edmonton Livestock Exchange (ELSE) with a motto designed to fit the same abbreviation, but with terms suggestive of collective urban business objectives: "Energy, Loyalty, Stability and Enterprise". Through banquets, picnics and an annual meeting, the chief object of the new organization was the standard one of self-regulation. An association with obviously recent reasons for organizing was that of the Edmonton Automobile Dealers and Distributors. Members met weekly in 1921 not just to arrange the customary display at the Edmonton Exhibition, but to correct irregularities in procedures for distributing dealers' licence plates and procedures for handling used cars. The Western Canada Fire Underwriters' Association was progressing beyond establishment of an Edmonton committee to formation of a provincial council.[7] And travelling salesmen of Edmonton had formed an extremely vigorous Council No. 447 of the United Commercial Travellers of America.

The June meeting alone of the Travellers considered an imposing range of activities. Delegates to the "Grand Council" meeting in Calgary reported. Material advertising the Exhibition Board was to be distributed. Four silver cups had been donated to Edmonton's Victoria Day sports committee. A response was devised to the Children's Aid Society appeal for funds. A representative was designated to attend the

G.W.V.A.-inspired meetings for coordination of all relief organizations. Support for the Board of Trade "Boost Edmonton" campaign in the surrounding district was logically appealing to the U.C.T. And finally, the group planned a U.C.T. picnic.[8] A number of themes stand out in this list. The U.C.T. was an international organization of which Edmonton's was only one of hundreds of branches. Like other professionals and businessmen, individual salesmen saw advantage in pooling resources, in their case to sell the whole community. Their activities were not isolated, moreover, but overlapped with those of other organizations. The health of the city was important to individual salesmen, just as it was to professionals.

Based on the theory that club cohesiveness and recreation should be combined with community responsibility, three "service clubs" of relatively recent origin operated in Edmonton in 1921. The Kiwanis and Rotary Clubs had already been established, but the Gyro Club appeared only mid-way through the year. They differed from one another only in detail. They all intended to recruit a most respectable membership; they all revolved around weekly luncheon meetings featuring either guest speakers on community, national or international problems, or audience entertainment; they all took on projects providing a collective service to the city; they were all part of massive international (American) organizations; and they were quite willing to cooperate with each other and others for purposes of recreation, service or civic boosterism. Thus Kiwanis members on one occasion heard the provincial Minister of Agriculture explain the urgent necessity for removal of the British embargo on Canadian livestock; on another they gave a standing ovation to touring British social reformer Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst for her campaign against the "so-called social diseases." On the other hand a good majority at another time favoured advocates of government controlled liquor availability in a debate against supporters of prohibition. At the beginning of the university term, University of Alberta President Dr. H. M. Tory told Kiwanians that his type of state university educated "all classes....for greater efficiency and produced a higher type of citizen," improving the function of the entire community. Rotarians early in the year honoured local aviators "Wop" May and Alex Myers for their New York to Edmonton flight which had, among other things, gloriously linked the name of Edmonton with that of the ultimate metropolis. Later they heard U.F.A. President Henry Wise Wood, federal cabinet minister N. W. Rowell on the League of Nations, an architect, and a British and Foreign Bible Society official. Edmonton Journal editor and civic promoter John Imrie discussed with the Gyro Club the attribute of pioneer faith and the profits to be earned from a trunk highway were it to be constructed north from Edmonton.[9] Urban solidarity predominated in the talk programs.

There were plenty of banquets, dances and picnics, not to mention joint golf tournaments, but the justification for it all was the new Children's Home which Kiwanis would help the Children's Aid Society achieve, or the summer boys' camp to be established at a nearby beach for 100 fatherless or otherwise needy boys. The Gyro Club appears not to have managed yet to organize an individual project, but was certainly in time to cooperate with the other two in the joint undertakings of the late spring "city beautiful" campaign and the fall "Capital City Ball" and associated ventures promoting Edmonton business in the surrounding districts.[10] Some of that work was too expensive for membership fees to cover, so Kiwanians raised money by a November production of the farce, "Merrie England"; while Rotarians put inordinate effort into an annual fall minstrel show featuring various stunts, black-faced minstrels, a "floral beauty chorus" of 150 "Rotary Belles", a parade, the music of the Newsboys' Band, and four allegedly "superb" evening performances of a hilarious racist theme based on mythical ideas of South Seas and African barbarisms.[11] Despite the doubtful taste in which it was sometimes conducted, the combination of entertainment with service was a twofold addition to the cohesion of the urban community.

The war brought to Edmonton another international service organization less suffused with hilarity: the Red Cross Society. Both senior and junior editions strove locally to raise money to finance necessary medical treatments, in one typical case for two children afflicted with tuberculosis. A relatively small active core worked hard to recruit volunteers to raise money from a small fee extracted from as large a passive "membership" as possible. The Red Cross Society was properly speaking one of the welfare agencies of Edmonton, but in the aftermath of the war it had several connections with a variety of military organizations. In the first place, it was still paying the greatest attention to the plight of injured returned men; in the second place the Red Cross Society participated in the November poppy campaign.[12]

Although the Great War had been over for three years, there was substantial evidence of its effect in Edmonton. A local battalion like the 66th of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, which had lost more than one-third of the 1,100 men enlisted from Edmonton and district, was not noted for reunion celebrations. Others, like the ongoing 19th Alberta Dragoons, had special reason after the war to celebrate together. The 51st Battalion had formed a recreational association to sponsor a series of dances, although the fourth annual banquet at the beginning of the year demonstrated dwindling attendance. The 49th Battalion (1st Battalion, Edmonton Regiment), was also an ongoing unit, with its own band which occasionally added concerts to the entertainment fare. But militia orders, summer camps and even reunion recreation[13] did not constitute the greatest impact of the military presence: that was reserved for the Great War Veterans' Association.

The G.W.V.A. had campaigned in vain for certain postwar privileges for returned soldiers, notably sizable pensions and cash bonuses. In Edmonton this clash with government had been dramatized by the forced resignation as honorary president of local Member of Parliament, Major-General W. A. Griesbach, for his emphatic opposition to the principle of equal pensions for disabled veterans and to the proposal for a cash gratuity. An overwhelming vote in 1921 confirmed the rejection, driving Griesbach and a host of senior officers over to the new rival branch of the Army and Navy Veterans in Canada.[14] The G.W.V.A.

continued, however, as the major representative of returned men in local welfare efforts. An employment bureau fought a constant battle to place veterans in permanent or even temporary positions, paying special attention to the disabled. With Aldermen East and Bowen among its executive officers, the G.W.V.A. put pressure on the civic and provincial governments to provide work rather than relief measures for unemployed soldiers. The public school board was prevailed upon to hire veterans for supplementary janitorial work. Delegates were sent to a national convention with eight resolutions on unemployment, re-establishment of ex-service men, purchase of lands for reclamation, and five year exemptions from income tax for all those returned soldiers who did find work. The independent Veteran Amputation Association, providing fraternity and mutual financial assistance for amputees and the blind among returned soldiers, had actually originated as a section of the G.W.V.A.[15]

The national framework of the G.W.V.A. meant, besides engaging in national campaigns for some of its objectives, participating in the international fund drive which was the fall "wear a poppy" movement. Churches and citizens were urged to purchase artificial replicas of the "blood-red poppy of Flanders", as well as crosses, wreaths and bouquets of artificial poppies, both to memorialize the fallen in the Great War on Armistice Day and to raise money for orphans in France. Here the wider community was engaged: major stores donated booth space; Bishop Gray endorsed the campaign; civic dignitaries, various other organizations and the schools received visits from the "Poppy Lady" from France. The national organization impressed another international connection on its branches as well by indicating its desire to maintain an official relationship with the American Legion.[16]

Recreation also figured strongly in G.W.V.A. affairs, not only in terms of whist drives and dances, but also in terms of participation on the Exhibition Association Board and of public performances by the G.W.V.A. band. The latter frequently contributed to wider public functions, the most notable the mass orchestra (which included the 49th Battalion Band as well) organized for the fall "Capital City" reception and ball. The G.W.V.A. Band showed special interest in the Journal Newsboys' Band, entertaining its members and performing publicly with them. This military indulgence for youngsters was manifested in other ways as well. Officers provided exhortation and facilities for a resurgence of the Boy Scout movement in Edmonton. Army cadets received support; 500 from across Alberta trained at Borden Park in July. A branch of the Navy League organized a uniformed Boys' Naval Brigade, the purpose of such activities as a Boys' Camp at nearby Sylvan Lake being to teach "discipline, patriotism and...to make better citizens of them."[17]

The level of military organization in Edmonton was nevertheless gradually declining after the high point of 1919. The enthusiasm of the officers was evidently sustained rather more easily than that of "other ranks" in the peacetime militia establishment of the 19th Alberta Dragoons, the two active and three reserve battalions of infantry. While the membership of the Edmonton Military Institute, a branch of a provincial and national organization, was a very considerable 110 officers, their main effort appeared to be devoted to rumination over the tactics and strategy of the past war. The special office of the Knights of Columbus which had since the end of the war found employment for some 500-600 returned men, disbanded in May of 1921. Only a committee of the Knights would carry on hospital work where once the special office had given loans for initiating businesses; mediated financial disputes; on occasion entertained some 400 widows and orphans; provided relief supplies, gifts, Christmas presents and Christmas dinners to unemployed ex-soldiers and their families; provided a cinema machine and outings for returned men in Strathcona Military Hospital, and furnished a lounge for the G.W.V.A.[18]

There was, however, a more indirect result of the war in Edmonton's organizations: a strengthening, however temporary, of British nationalist - even imperialist - societies at the expense of associations representing particularly German speaking people. Even the Men's Canadian Club, with its clear objective of promoting Canadian national spirit, felt the impact. Although one luncheon meeting heard University of Alberta Dean W.A.R. Kerr explain the history and traditions of the French element in Canada, the Edmonton branch responded to an appeal from dominion headquarters for improvement of the club's national performance with a suggestion for "the development of a sound and loyal British Canadian spirit among the immigrant citizens in the rural parts of Canada." The Journal editor's ~~s~~ supportive response to that was to call for a replacement of "patriotic utterances" by the Canadian Club with effective programs through the influential agencies of churches and schools. Indicative of the broader interest within the club was one luncheon presentation on "The Present Situation in India".[19]

Little had changed for the Sons of England and those of Scotland, or for the Daughters and Maids of England. The Welsh community still celebrated St. David's Day and both the St. Andrew's Society and the Edmonton Burns Club recognized Robbie Burns Night appropriately. The Self-Determination for Ireland League and the Edmonton Irish Protestant Association transplanted old country issues to Edmonton meeting rooms, although doubtless with less sense of immediacy. Even the Royal Society of St. George was not new since 1913, nor did it deviate from its former attention to the needs of newcomers; indeed its leaders (including General Griesbach and Bishop Gray) wished to revive the pre-war effectiveness of this non-political, non-sectarian "patriotic society".[20]

The orations heard by the St. George's Society were decidedly old country in orientation; one, for instance, considered the linkages among the political careers of Disraeli, Gladstone and Lloyd George. Two new associations carried the idea of Canada's Britishness much further. Lawyer A.U.B. Bury chaired the meeting which organized a local chapter of the British Empire Alliance to assert, as one speaker put it, "the essential oneness of the British people" and to counteract "disintegrating tendencies". Confirmed as president of the new organization, Bury declared the Alliance to be unlike other "bigoted British Empire Leagues in Canada," but to be convinced instead that Canada would reach its highest good within the "confederation of free states that we know as the Empire." An interesting overlap in the Alliance was the concurrent membership of both the Board of Trade stalwart, Sidney Woods, and the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council president, Robert McCreath.[21]

The bigotry to which Bury referred seemed, however, to be in evidence within the King William Royal Black Preceptory No. 806, Royal Black Knights of the British Commonwealth. The annual commemorative banquet on November 5, staged in the Board of Trade rooms, brought together with the Knights the invited representatives of Masonic orders, Oddfellows, Orangemen, Sons of England, St. Andrew's Society, Knights of Pythias and the St. George's Society. After toasts in honour of these societies and responses calling for increased cooperation among the various loyal orders, Anglican Rev. John M. Comyn-Ching, the special speaker, "scorned the gloves in handling his subject" of British protestant patriotism, "attacking the matter with an enthusiasm which carried the gathering to a great pitch of excitement." Before a banquet table "arranged in the form of a St. George's cross, the white cloth being outlined with red," Comyn-Ching argued for coordination of the work "to present a stronger front to those baleful and malignant influences which exist today, as they did in the days of our fathers ...which at the time threatened the very life of the empire - we can free them again today, and win out as we have always won out." Behind him hung the black banner of the order, "bearing in silver the skull, cross-bones and triangle emblematic of the society, with a large union jack on either side."[22]

Despite the inevitable post-war emphasis on the British connection, the solidarity desired among the community's fraternities was not unlike that expressed on many similar occasions before the war when Britishness was not so blatantly called upon for its unifying spirit. Similarly, the wartime and post-war multiplication of Daughters of the Empire chapters signified the stimulus of the war to women's organization as much as to imperial patriotism. Nearly two dozen chapters sported among them such new titles as "Brigadier-General Griesbach Chapter", "Lloyd-George Chapter", "49th Edmonton Regiment Chapter", "19th Alberta Dragoons Chapter", "British Navy Chapter", and even "General Joffre Chapter". War related work was however declining: while one chapter cautiously probed the possibility of sponsoring a pension fund for a war widow, it also endorsed the idea of a "Canadian Literature" week during which only Canadian literature should be sold. Several I.O.D.E. projects were clear reminders that the war memory was fading. The I.O.D.E. put pressure on the provincial government on one occasion to replace American textbooks with Canadian to increase the reference to the British part in the war. Simultaneously clothes, books and other necessities were forwarded to the families of soldiers settled on new homesteads. The war and its results had implications for both welfare and nationalism, but without essentially altering the fabric of urban society. Thus the women's auxiliary to the St. George's Society planned whist drives, dances and sports activities, and worked by means of standing committees on hospital and welfare affairs.[23]

The connection was made again in a luncheon tendered some 200 wives of returned soldiers, many of them "old country brides", about to be settled with their husbands on outlying land. Women of Methodist, Baptist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic Ladies' organizations combined with the Women's Institute, an I.O.D.E. chapter, the Women's Musical Club and other clubs to stage the event. A war-related condition provided the focus of attention, but the response of women's organizations to evidence of need was quite traditional. The organizations were little changed since 1913, the largest number being church women's groups, lodges and union auxiliaries like West Edmonton Lodge 668, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen.[24]

It is true that a new class of women formed the Widows, Wives and Mothers of Great Britain's Heroes Association or, more simply, the War Widows' Association. But the Royal Alexandra Hospital Women's Aid still protected senior level women in the hospital administrative structure from overbearing male administrators and the Hospital Board, and still planned sewing campaigns to raise money to furnish a new wing of the hospital. The Victorian Order of Nurses, with the aid of Rotary Club and civic government grants, other donations and their own fund raising campaigns, continued to organize home nursing care and added a weekly child welfare clinic. The Women's Musical Club still provided internal entertainment save for a public concert in aid of the Y.W.C.A. building program. For the Women's University Club, monthly meetings and study sessions were varied by play productions to raise money for university use. While the Edmonton Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club would occasionally discuss reports on such matters as trade unionism, in general its members were more likely to be preoccupied with alleged overcharging by the Macdonald Hotel for the group's dinners.[25]

The committees and concerns of the coordinating Local Council of Women effectively demonstrate the continuing community interests of Edmonton women in concert. The affiliated societies, seventeen in all, were a representative but by no means complete collection of church groups, women's lodges, I.O.D.E., W.C.T.U., trade union auxiliaries, health and welfare agencies and even a "Housewives League". That they were concerned about women's status and participation in major public affairs follows from the secretary's assessment of the "outstanding results" of the year: exclusively the appointment, election or consideration of women for the leadership of the Board of Public Welfare, the Public Library Board, the Exhibition Board, the Social Service League, the Public School Board, and the Hospital Board. The Local Council's standing committees were for the most part quite different from the Board of Trade, in which many of the husbands of Local Council members played a role: finance, professions and employment for women, fine and applied arts, child welfare, nursing, public health, immigration, household economics, moving picture censorship, equal moral standards, peace and arbitration, laws for the better protection of women and children. The Council resolved to petition the city for thorough milk and milch-cow inspection, better support of nursing service to reduce a high infant mortality rate, and to petition the provincial Board of Censors to prevent the escalation of juvenile delinquency by the diligent prohibition according to its interpretation of the Theatres Act of "motion pictures of a criminal, brutal or immoral nature."[26]

In short, women's organizations in Edmonton saw a special role for women in the city's affairs, particularly in matters of health, welfare, morality and cultural (including ethnic) assimilation. One important new organization did not affiliate with the Local Council of Women, but its approach differed little if at all: the Edmonton Women's Institute. Its meetings considered child welfare, the safety in every way of women in the working place, prohibition, visitation programs for hospital patients, and scholarships for college women. The presidency of Mrs. R. W. "Nellie" McClung gave the two-year old Institute sufficient presence to make Edmonton the site of the first national convention of the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada in June. The federation endorsed resolutions to encourage close parent-school liaison and parental attention to "respect for the teachers and others in authority" on the part of their children, as well as "obedience and high ideals of patriotism and personal life." Another object of this concentration on home and school was to be the best implementation of a process of "Canadianization" for those who needed it. Clearly the Institute was dedicated to a tightly controlled standardized community.[27]

The largest number of women's associations continued to be church organizations, most of them labelled "auxiliaries" or "aids" whose bazaars, concerts, rummage sales and cooking or bake sales supplemented the income of their churches either for local work or for the support of missionary activities. While it is obvious that their programs had scarcely varied over the decades, the lack of imagination was nevertheless matched by the almost universal manifestation of these clubs in all the churches of Edmonton. To a common experience of service-oriented functions was added in many cases a definite commitment to companionship. The women of First Baptist Church came together in the "Friendship Club". The Catholic Women's League on one occasion invited Archbishop O'Leary to address them at a social event at which ice-cream and a musical program were intended to "extend social good fellowship" among "the Catholic women of the city."[28] While there was little that was new in their normal activities, their widespread continuation alone ensured their primary importance in the community.

The women were undoubtedly instrumental as well in planning larger church gatherings involving the children and men of the congregations. But, in contrast to the situation of 1913, neither women's projects nor general church socials were any longer connected with enthusiastic fund drives to build bigger and better churches; the focus on expansion was no longer central to the work of the church. Indeed, paying off long-standing debts was cause for celebration. Christ Church Anglican prepared to make a new parish hall suffice for worship as well until some future construction of a church proper. Maintenance of ongoing programs and of community was the keynote in such reports as that "a large and jolly party gathered in the Parish hall of Holy Trinity Church...when the opening of the season was ushered in by a social, for which an amusing program was arranged." The "annual lawn fete and sports program of St. Andrew's Anglican Church" drew 400 members in June. Fall "harvest home suppers" were commonplace. A different kind of congregational sustenance was evident in the attention paid to Sunday School organization. Grace Methodist church officials supported the regular education of 300 to 400 youngsters, and they were by no means unique among the large congregations. Westminster Presbyterian claimed 550 Sunday scholars. Nor were once-weekly meetings in the congregational setting evidently sufficient. A typical city-wide rally of Methodist Sunday school children on New Year's Day brought together 1,600 of them for the chance to hear an address by none other than Mayor Duggan.[29]

None of this is to suggest that the business of the urban churches, particularly the traditional ones, excluded Christian mission work. There was, however, a certain style to some of it, at least. Congregations or groups within them undertook projects designed to raise money to sponsor specialist missionaries. Westminster Presbyterian church, to select only one example among many, was supporting a missionary in India and sending money for relief to Armenia and China. Presbyterians sponsored efforts at local organized mission work as well, largely through education programs, among the French-speaking, Welsh and Chinese of the city and district, all with indifferent success. But as a byproduct, communities within the city were regularly maintained by the collective approach to the sponsorship involved even in those mission responsibilities. The Salvation Army made a somewhat different appeal to the whole city in its fund drive directly to the public at large for $10,000 for relief and mission purposes from a "self-denial campaign" in May. Not exactly a mission effort in the purest sense, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic campaign for relief monies for Ukraine tried to engender in another sector of the population a spirit of solidarity.[30]

For German Lutherans, to take an extreme example, this must have seemed a period of relative isolation from the denominational mainstreams; there can be little doubt that the ethnic tensions of the war prevented them from achieving or even seeking swift inclusion in the cooperative endeavours of the major denominations in the city. Indeed a choice site in the far east end Highlands section of the city was purchased in 1921 by representatives of one German-American synod for construction of a separate "German-Lutheran College". This project was getting underway just as other denominational colleges were experiencing difficulties. Westminster Ladies' College, moved into Edmonton from Red Deer in 1916, enjoyed a brief burst of optimism in 1920-21 when enrollment at the Presbyterian residential school temporarily rose to a high of nearly 170 students. Property was purchased and plans set in motion by the Synod of Alberta to provide a half-million dollar permanent building. When attendance was halved in the fall of 1921 and the financial drive stalled to the point at which expenses outweighed receipts several-fold, plans quickly deteriorated to the level of a supplementary "enrichment" program for regular public school system and university students. Alberta College South and Robertson College attendance was adversely affected by war recruitment and did not seem to recover afterward; courses and staffs were completely meshed until church union formally occurred in 1925. Alberta College North, on the other hand, was securely entrenched with a large enrollment spread among public service programs for university preparation, commercial occupations, "domestic science", music, art, and "physical culture". "Christian citizenship" was the ideal, but practical courses were the implementation.[31]

Major Protestant churches by this point seemed quite at home in joint activities. There was, for instance, a Women's Interdenominational Prayer League. The Edmonton Ministerial Association sponsored a two week program of evangelism centred on the personage of the visiting LaMarechal Booth-Clibborn, daughter of the late Salvation Army General William Booth. For the most part her addresses and those of her ordained son urged the personal repentance and salvation of each individual listener, but they did warn citizens to "beware of the skull and crossbones behind some of our modern amusements" and dedicate one mass meeting for men only to a discussion by LaMarechal of "My Experience with Socialism".[32] Even if the secular social content was minimal, the agreement of many Protestant clergymen on a single evangelist was in itself a striking indication of cooperation. The association also took an active interest in the plight of the unemployed and otherwise needy, intervening with City Council on behalf of the work of the Welfare Board. Bishop Gray, active in the Ministerial Association, was to a certain extent implementing the spirit of the international Lambeth Conference's advocacy of an essential unity of churches to meet the enormous missionary challenge. Gray shied away from the concept of "uniformity" of churches, doubting the possibility of a common ministry, but he clearly had no difficulty in accepting a working harmony. These sentiments he uttered, in fact, during the Central Churches' Week of Prayer coordinated by Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican clergymen of the city core churches.[33]

Work among children and young people also stimulated cooperation in several respects. The Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A., as we shall see, continued to stress wholesome collective activities for youth. On one occasion the Y.M.C.A. Red Triangle Hut was the site for a gathering of some 400 boys and girls from the four "central churches" to hear appropriate exhortations and play appropriate games. The same four Protestant denominations went a considerable distance in mutual tolerance and appreciation to offer coordinated Sunday School teacher training. There were two experiments undertaken in preparation for "Christian citizenship". In January the young people of the same four church bodies organized an Edmonton Young People's Federation, with the interesting collectivist motto, "Edmonton for Christ". Membership in this federation would consist of any Christian young people's groups of six or more members, not of individuals, and its purposes would include the offer of organizational assistance to its constituents. The federation's most ambitious objective would be to influence the moral life of the city by consolidating the voice of Christian young people; in reverse, it hoped to be an organization large and notable enough to command the services of prominent speakers of the day. The federation's very first project, significantly, was to arrange parliamentary sessions. The same experiment in citizenship was attempted in the fall in a Boys' Work Conference staged by the Edmonton and Alberta Boys' Work Boards, comprised of representatives of the Y.M.C.A. and the Anglican, Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches. Delegates were to be boys fifteen years of age or older and men involved in the direction of Christian leadership organizations for boys. The conference borrowed from the form of fraternal lodges, with its grand praetor, grand scriptor and grand comptor; but it also launched immediately into an introduction to the Boys' Parliament as practised by the Tuxis organization to which some delegates belonged.[34] These church-sponsored activities seemed to lay heavy emphasis on responsible future participation and leadership in community organization far broader than the confines of the churches.

They were also good practice for possible church union, a very common topic of discussion by this point, just four years before its partial accomplishment. The national drive was on for union of the Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists, although a decided reluctance among many Edmonton Presbyterian leaders for so official a bondage was perceptible. While friction was obvious in Alberta Synodical deliberations of the Presbyterian Church, Robertson Church in west Edmonton prepared on its own to probe the prospects for a congregational union with Wesley Methodist Church.[35]

If formal amalgamation was still some time off, questions involving public moral standards mobilized an interdenominational common front. The achievement of a degree of prohibition in 1916, first at the provincial level (Edmonton contributing a heavy majority in favour), then at the federal level for interprovincial traffic, did not quieten the issue: vigilance was necessary in its defence. It was true that membership in Edmonton's five prohibition-era W.C.T.U. chapters was much reduced, only one of them qualifying with a mere 30 members for the largest dozen locals in Alberta. The provincial victory had been proven somewhat hollow and threatened to be reversed; it proved not to be the universal antidote to social malaise it had sometimes been characterized as, and provincial authorities had never been seized with fervent zeal on its behalf. In 1920 Albertans did vote under the new opportunity granted by a revised Canada Temperance Act to prevent importation of liquor into the province. This came into operation February 1, 1921. Nevertheless, the activity of bootleggers was common knowledge, even a malignant myth to prohibitionists, and the most aggressive organization in the controversy was now not a prohibitionist one, but the Moderation League. The president of the Social Service Council of Alberta, meeting in convention in Edmonton late in the year, saw prohibition as the "heart and soul" of a struggle for "Social and Moral Reform". The leader of one League deputation to the Alberta cabinet, none other than William Short, urged on the other hand the alternative of open liquor sale under government control, pointing to the 30 percent electoral turnout at the 1920 referendum, the loss of respect for law and order engendered by the futile effort to enforce prohibition, and the potential for increased harm from illegally distilled liquor subject to no quality control. A.U.G. Bury led another delegation presenting a 67,500 voter petition of the League to the Premier. There was plenty of reason, therefore, for church leaders and organized prohibitionists to speak up.[36]

But there were intriguing new issues in the field of moral reform to stimulate cross-denominational attention. Representations at a City Council meeting by clergymen including Dr. McQueen and Bishop Gray successfully averted a commissioners' proposal to construct a cabaret for nightly dancing at Borden Park. They characterized the prospect as a moral threat to the young people of the city. The Rev. Dr. C. H. Huestis, now field secretary for the Lord's Day Alliance, preached in Edmonton occasionally with his "Plea for the Sabbath", and found a specific target in the fall. He lobbied Mayor Duggan and Attorney General Brownlee for a ban on Sunday symphony concerts. It was the thin edge of the wedge, Huestis claimed: other entertainers would seek to take advantage of the opportunity, and the city could with its grants be in contravention of the Lord's Day Act. When Brownlee decided not to interfere on the grounds that an amateur organization like the Edmonton Symphony Orchestra broke no law prohibiting paid Sunday labour, Baptist Rev. G. A. Clarke delivered a broadside. The performances themselves, he conceded, were "splendid and civilizing," but the financial arrangements for them were being "camouflaged" by the device of season subscriptions paid in advance, avoiding the sale of Sunday tickets. "The theatre interests," he warned, "have their eyes on the Canadian Sunday night - sooner than you dream, the Canadian Sunday will be invaded in such a way that it will be impossible to recover it for its God-intended purposes."[37]

And indeed, the theatres - particularly those showing moving pictures - were the real modern villains in the struggle to preserve public morality in 1921. Although some observers continued to believe parental guidance was the most effective control, since there were other displays of indecency available in a range of magazines as well, the Alberta Social Service League drew a very large crowd to McDougall Church "to combat the growing evil of the moving picture menace" of "detrimental films." More than the usual Christian denominations were represented both in the audience and among the speakers. On the platform, besides the University of Alberta chancellor (Hon. Mr. Justice Stuart), Nellie McClung, the Local Council of Women president, Rev. Dr. McQueen, and others, were a Roman Catholic priest (Father Daniel) and a representative of the Catholic Women's League. The mass meeting sent resolutions to both the provincial and federal governments asking, in effect, to make moving picture and advertising censorship a Department of Education responsibility; to make the censorship and control of vaudeville theatres more strict; and to have a federal government committee of some sort consider the whole matter, despite its provincial application.[38]

The positive side of denominational cooperation on behalf of civic community was, nevertheless, most evident in the activities of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. These organizations, particularly the former, were by this time urban institutions, functioning almost automatically with salaried administrators. The Y.M.C.A. sported more than 1,000 members, better than 40 percent of them boys. It was not, however, member enthusiasm for administrative work which indicated the strength of the Y.M.C.A. in the city: fifty-one members and friends, for example, attended the annual May banquet and meeting. A fifteen man Board of Directors actually did the work of heading some ten committees which included the new entries of military, "industrial and extension" (Elmer Roper, chairman), and "foreign work". The importance of the Y.M.C.A. was instead in the ongoing multitude of programs which led to tabulation of a record 48,000 patrons of gymnasium and swimming pool at some point or other in the year before May, 1921. It was in the maintenance of gymnasium, swimming pool, hall (the "Red Triangle Hut") and playing field facilities, not to mention summer campsites at Jasper Park, Sylvan Lake and the new location negotiated during 1921 at Lake Wabamun. It was in the large businessmen's classes, the gymnasium classes, the sports organization, the instruction classes on anything from swimming and lifesaving to camping and climbing, the Sunday fellowship teas and suppers which over the course of a year attracted some 1,000 strangers. Military activities and home study courses for returned men were a new post-war feature. In the face of all this the Bible studies for senior and junior "employed boys" must have seemed a minimal proportion of the program. Perhaps this is what the Knox Presbyterian minister, Rev. Andrew Reid, meant when he credited the Y.M.C.A. with improving participants' physical, social and moral lives by fostering cheerful Christianity and dispelling the "atmosphere of melancholy" previously associated with the Church.[39]

In any event, a program of Sunday afternoon talks was devoted to "bettering the city, province and country at large" in the framework of "bright and cheerful" consideration of popular topics. Although the first speaker on the subject, the pastor of McDougall Methodist Church, Rev. R. Lorne Mctavish, attacked the matter from the standpoint of the churches, his successors took the points of view of City Council (Mayor Duggan), schools, libraries and sports organizations.[40]

The special project of both the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. was quite clearly youth organization. The Y.W.C.A. was to a certain extent preoccupied with the slow extension of its own physical facilities. A planned gymnasium and swimming pool had to be dropped temporarily from the construction project because of a shortfall of funds which no number of rummage sales could seem to overcome. But that did not prevent the Y.W.C.A. from giving its support to the burgeoning efforts of the new Canadian Girls in Training program, branches of which existed in many churches. Once again there were in this example civic and broader dimensions to a church organization: a cross-city picnic and a national convention illustrated that.[41] If the Y.W.C.A. program was sluggish for want of capital funds, the Y.M.C.A., with its facilities in place, was not so hampered. Early in the year the "Red Chevron Club" of the Y.M.C.A. approached the Rotary and Kiwanis Clubs, U.C.T. and other organizations for help in reorganizing the Boy Scout movement in the city after its wartime disruption. Within weeks hundreds of boys in several troops responded to the assisted Y.M.C.A. promotion of the Scouts. But the "Boys' Department" of the Y.M.C.A. was active in many different ways. Participation in the Boys' Work Board of Edmonton has already been noted. At Christmas time the Y.M.C.A. sponsored "Christmas Tree" celebrations for the Children's Aid and South Side Boarding House residents. During the summer months, "boys' work" projects were prominent, mainly to present juvenile members with summer camp opportunities, but also (with Kiwanis and Rotary assistance again) to support a new camp at Wabamum Lake to which underprivileged non-members were given access. Public and high school boys were offered free swimming lessons under the organization of the Public School Board. The boys of the Y.M.C.A. were for the most part organized by "church clubs", but others had access through special clubs. So onerous was "boys' work" that an assistant Boys' Work Secretary was appointed in 1921. One of the new enterprises initiated at the tail end of 1920 and repeated late in 1921 was the organization of a boys' "Tuxis Parliament", open by model elections to boys from across Alberta.[42]

Citizenship, cooperation, fellowship - these were clearly as important in practice to the Y.M.C.A. as physical health and Christian study. All the programs, including the regular whist drives and dances and occasional summer picnics of its "Red Chevron Club",[43] tended, whether as a by-product or by conscious purpose, to stress smooth collective behaviour in the context of the city. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. made the most concerted efforts, but their effect in sustaining the urban community reflected the lesser but not essentially dissimilar impacts of a host of other voluntary associations.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Journal (EJ), January 3, 4, 26, May 3, 18, June 24, August 1, September 3, 8, October 22, 25, 1921; Edmonton Bulletin (EB), April 8, 1921.

2. EJ, January 25, November 9, 15, 1921.

3. EJ, January 20, 31, March 1, May 2, 17, June 20, September 22, October 5, 1921.

4. EB, April 21, 1921; EJ, January 10, 31, February 18, May 12, 17, June 22, 24, July 25, September 13, 1921.

5. EB, February 17, 1921.

6. EB, January 6, 1921; EJ, February 4, May 9, September 22, November 1, 16, 1921; History of the Association of Professional Engineers of Alberta (The Association, 1940), 4-14; History of the Edmonton Branch Engineering Institute of Canada 1915-1965 (Edmonton Branch, EIC, 1968), 1-10. Both books are in the Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA).

7. EJ, February 4, 19, March 11, July 20, 1921.

8. EJ, June 20, October 15, 1921.

9. EB, April 12, 1921; EJ, January 6, 20, February 18, May 16, 31, July 18, August 25, September 6, 13, 1921; R. D. Grantham, ed., Golden Jubilee: 1916-1966 (Edmonton, Rotary Club of Edmonton, 1966).

10. EJ, February 24, May 5, 12, 31, June 2, 6, July 26, September 27, October 7, 25, 1921.

11. EJ, October 18, 20, 27, 28, 1921; Grantham, ed., *Golden Jubilee*.

12. EJ, January 21, June 4, 6, October 11, 25, 1921.

13. EB, January 5, April 25, October 10, 12, 1921; EJ, January 3, 20, 31, May 7, 18, June 6, July 27, September 27, October 11, November 12, 1921.

14. EB, April 4, 1921; EJ, July 19, October 31, 1921.

15. EJ, January 3, 7, May 6, July 20, August 1, 19, October 14, 28, November 16, 1921.

16. EJ, September 22, October 11, 18, 22, 25, November 9, 12, 1921.

17. EJ, January 3, 28, February 4, 26, March 2, May 23, June 24, July 5, September 6, 27, 1921.

18. G. R. Stevens, *A City Goes to War* (Brampton, Ontario, Charles Publ. Co. for the Edmonton Regiment Associates, 1964), 12-20, 156-157; *Journal of the Alberta Military Institutes* (Edmonton and Calgary Military Institutes, December, 1920), 21; EJ, May 9, 1921.

19. EJ, February 9, May 3, September 13, 1921.

20. EB, January 3, 26, 1921; EJ, January 3, 8, 20, 26, February 26, 28, March 1, May 5, June 4, August 15, September 13, 24, October 11, 22, 1921.

21. EJ, March 1, May 20, 25, November 3, 1921.

22. EJ, November 8, 1921.

23. EJ, January 21, March 2, 7, 11, May 4, 5, 7, October 13, 14, 1921; EB, October 10, 1921. For general prairie western background, see John Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

24. EJ, January 21, March 11, September 13, 1921.

25. EB, April 1, 4, October 10, 12-14, 1921; EJ, January 21, 25, February 26, March 1, May 2, 3, 7, September 3, November 5, 1921; Marjorie W. Buckley, ed., *As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton* (Edmonton, Spartan Press Ltd., 1973), 9, 12; Edmonton Branch, Canadian Women's Press Club minutes, 1921, in Minute Book 4, Edmonton Branch, Canadian Women's Press Club Papers: PAA.

26. EJ, January 28, 1921; EB, April 29, 1921.

27. EB, January 8, 1921; EJ, May 3, 5, 7, June 20, 22, 27, 30, October 8, 1921. On the failure of the Canadian Council of Women to include the Women's Institutes, see Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women (Ottawa, National Museums of Canada, 1976), 353-398.

28. The Edmonton newspapers regularly listed examples of church women's groups' social and work programs in such a haphazard way as to indicate much more activity not being reported every time. For the specific examples cited here, see EB, April 1, 21, 1921; EJ, January 21, 31, February 26, May 3, 9, 14, 16, September 20, October 8, 10, 11, 1921.

29. EB, January 3, October 10, 1921; EJ, January 3, 6, 20, May 4, June 6, July 20, September 20, 22, 24, October 11, 1921.

30. EJ, January 20, September 8, 1921; EB, April 29, 1921; J. J. H. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church in Edmonton, Northern Alberta and the Klondike, 1885-1925" (Unpublished M.Th. Thesis, Vancouver School of Theology, 1974), 104-108, 113-115. See also references to Roman Catholic, Methodist and Anglican mission work in EJ, May 2, 3, 1921.

31. Morris, "The Presbyterian Church," 119-128; EJ, January 25, June 29, October 27, 1921; EB, August 27, 1921.

32. EJ, March 2, October 31, November 1, 4, 5, 1921.

33. EB, January 4, 6, 1921; EJ, January 4, 6, November 2, 1921.

34. EJ, January 8, 10, 25, February 12, October 22, 29, 31, 1921; EB, January 26, 1921.

35. EB, January 4, 1921; EJ, January 4, June 1, 6, October 27, 28, 1921.

36. 1921 Alberta Convention Report, W.C.T.U.: Glenbow-Alberta Institute (GAI), W.C.T.U. Papers, Box 6, File 35; L. G. Thomas, The Liberal Party in Alberta (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1959), 161-163; E. H. Oliver, The Liquor Traffic in the Prairie Provinces (Board of Home Missions and Social Service, Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1923), 285-320; EB, January 6, 7, 1921; EJ, January 10, 21, 28, 31, February 2, 26, March 10, June 10, 18, 22, August 2, October 5, 1921.

37. EJ, January 22, June 28, October 20, 27, 31, 1921.

38. EB, January 24, 1921; EJ, January 25, February 4, 26, 1921.

39. EJ, February 26, May 27, 1921; Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Board of Directors Minutes, Book #7 for 1921, 238-276: Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA), Y.M.C.A. Papers, Box 1.

40. EJ, October 22, 1921.

41. EJ, January 25, May 4-6, 16, June 6, September 3, October 3, 1921; EB, August 27, October 11, 1921.

42. Edmonton Y.M.C.A. Board of Directors Minutes, 1921, 238-276; EJ, January 3, 8, 28, February 26, March 2, June 10, November 9, 1921.

43. EJ, May 4, August 9, September 13, 1921.

Chapter 22: Recreation.

The development of recreation in Edmonton as a manifestation of even more cohesive urban community was already apparent in 1913. While not much had changed in terms of style from 1913 to 1921, the popularity of the mass forms had consolidated. There were more theatres and more movies in Edmonton in 1921. There was proportionally less collective notice taken of local productions; they may well have dwindled in number as a logical response to their loss of popularity. Professional entertainment companies were, after all, closely attuned to the largest possible market in order to continue to operate profitably; those people with only marginal interest in amateur productions had little incentive to ignore the professionals in their favour. Although there were many categories in the entertainment world, not all of them dominated by professional service to the vicarious experiences of passive observers, aspects of the professional approach entered most of the categories, particularly those marked by substantial popularity.

Nevertheless, the commitment to group participatory entertainment remained strong. Many of the organizations which existed for other primary purposes devoted considerable attention, as has already been demonstrated, to planned relaxation, repeatedly in the forms of whist drives and dances. Newspaper reports of these events staged by fraternal orders and women's lodges, church young people, trade unions, community leagues, service clubs and military battalion associations were regular to the point of monotony, emphasizing the persistence of urban patterns. Many clubs existed solely for the purpose of organizing recreation. Sports clubs interspersed sporting activities with dances: the Holy Trinity and Patricia Square Tennis Clubs, for example, and the Shamrock Football (soccer) Club. The Canadian National Social and Athletic Association (a reference to railway employees) prepared a comprehensive program of standard fare; so did the Imperial Oil Social Club and the Hudson's Bay Amusement and Athletic Association. These were interesting tentative experiments, like the City Telephone Society and others, in stimulating a sense of community and solidarity around the workplace. Others, like the Cecille Club, the Maple Leaf Club, or the Girls' Pastime Club, appear to have been undefiled by any outside objective save that of organizing dances. None could be as impressive in their diversity as the Y.M.C.A. in its attempt to integrate Christian example with instruction and recreation. A New Year's Day open house at the Y.M.C.A. Red Triangle Hut included presentation not only of sports, but also of a musical program and a chess tournament.[1]

Occasionally events would still be advertised to the public at large which were sponsored on an *ad hoc* basis: a roller skating and dance carnival in the south side rink, for example, or skating carnivals. Other single happenings put a premium on display rather than action. The Lieutenant-Governor's New Year's levee continued very popular, drawing 1,000 visitors, many of whom undoubtedly came to be associated with the prominent callers who were then listed in the society columns, including the Premier, cabinet ministers, local military officers and the Belgian, French and Italian consuls. The Mayor and three aldermen duplicated the practice at city hall. A special event of similar nature occurred in April on the passage through the city of the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, the Governor-General of Canada and his lady. They, Lt. Gov. and Mrs. Brett, and a vice-regal party visited 2,500 school children at Strathcona High School, spoke to a University convocation and made a public display of tea.[2]

City-wide celebrations combined spectacle with participatory activity, but the participation was of the sort to create a collective impression of urban unanimity. The school pupils who contributed athletic, musical and drill demonstrations on "Empire Day", May 24, were adding to the ceremony of formal speeches and tree-planting for the benefit of the multitudes of their fellows and parents. The "Labor Picnic" to which all were invited on Dominion Day had a similar focusing purpose. On the August civic holiday, the civic employees drew some 1,500 Edmontonians to a picnic at nearby Alberta Beach; two weeks later the Civil Service Association returned with even more people for aquatic sports and a costume ball. The ultimate combination of entertainment with civic boosting was of course the October Capital City Ball, which packed 1,500 into the Prince of Wales Armouries, sponsored by a variety of service clubs with civic assistance.[3]

Edmonton's transportation advantages seemed to allow residents unparalleled opportunity to escape in all directions, but the regular summer excursions, mainly by train, out to surrounding lakes was so widespread as to suggest not escape but rather the annexation of those lakes to the urban sphere. Like picnics at the city's parks, weekend jaunts to lake recreation areas appealed not only to individuals, but also to countless organizations, all encouraged by railway companies offering somewhat reduced passenger rates. The popular pastime of motoring swelled their ranks. Some 25,000 people apparently took advantage of special trips and holiday rates to Alberta Beach alone during the summer; and other beaches such as those at Seba, Wabamum, Kapasiwin, Lac Ste. Anne and Cooking Lake were served by railway connections as well.[4]

There were, however, plenty of attractions within the city. Borden Park was not only the regular site of picnics, it also held a bandstand at which such groups as a "Scotch Pipe Band" could be heard on summer Sunday afternoons, and it was the location of the carnival amusements placed there by the Exhibition Association. The merry-go-round and roller coaster, among other rides, were open for use every summer day and evening, achieving special attention during the exhibition days of July when the midway was attached to the fair ground site. Numerous side shows, including an "autodrome" in which motor cars and motorcycles circulated at the disturbing speed of sixty miles per hour, catered to customers eager to be sated with marvels. A diver dropped sixty-seven feet into a four foot tank of water; a nine-and-a-half foot giant awed his viewers. They were of course standard amusements, but thousands more attended the exhibition than any other mass entertainment in the city. Tastes differed; but so also did the shows. All manner of exhibits were on display from seven provinces and seven states. Horse races may have drawn the attention of thousands of onlookers, but in the "light horse ring", jumping and show competitions in many classes gave evidence of a more genteel interest. The overriding unity in all this was the time and central location of all the exhibition attractions. A similar side effect was regularly created by the City Market, on which throngs of people converged on Saturday mornings, many of them evidently not from a need to purchase but from curiosity.[5]

If mass forms of celebration and other recreational participation often produced as much to look at as to do, even those were significantly outdistanced in regularity and popularity by entertainments prepared particularly for audiences. Leaving aside for the moment the field of sports, the city's theatres continued as before the war to present a range of public shows. Some of them were still local presentations, far more of a musical than of a dramatic sort. Dramatic presentations were often at the level of the University of Alberta Medical students' "Med Night" skits in Convocation Hall, or the comedy, Belinda, produced on the same stage by the Women's University Club. Other educational institutions and churches were responsible for some additional amateur drama: the Literary Society of Westminster Ladies' College, to cite one example, finished its season with a play. It is true that one Mrs. Pimlott, who apparently travelled annually to the Hollywood Studios of Ruth St. Dennis and Ted Shawn for her ideas, endeavoured to produce a popular play by her students at the New Empire theatre in the spring, but at year's end one commentator was moved to plead for a Canadian theatre company with Canadian players. He noted incidentally that Edmonton had no "little theatre" organization at the moment, only "enthusiasts who produce plays locally with local talent from time to time."[6]

Perhaps the most noticeable change in the fare available from Edmonton musicians in this post-war year was the increased proportion produced by bands, expecially military bands. The 1,600 seat Pantages (later the Metropolitan) Theatre and the smaller Empire were frequently filled to capacity for popular concerts prepared by the G.W.V.A. band, the band of the 1st Battalion, Edmonton Regiment, and the Edmonton Journal Newsboys' Band. Nor was this the only evidence of a strong demand for relatively light musical entertainment which could be filled by local performers. The Edmonton Symphony Orchestra had regrouped in 1920 after a wartime interregnum, and apparently drew about 700 listeners to most of its eight concerts each winter. A typical program included Grieg's "Peer Gynt Suite", Schubert's "Unfinished Symphony", Elgar's "Pomp and Circumstance", and some of Handel's "Samson". A professional director, Albert Weaver-Winston, got appreciated results from amateur performers. Other musical productions were really quite sporadic, although the Edmonton Male Chorus and an opera society did continue to function, and the musical, Kismet, presented in February, was an example of the occasional product. To these specialized efforts must be added the concerts prepared by church organizations from time to time, usually for the purpose of raising money for their projects.[7]

But professional entertainment dominated, divided (aside from sports) into three categories: dramatic theatre (some of it musical), vaudeville and moving pictures. Of the three, live stage plays seemed at one point to be in the most precarious position. One of the two theatres known for live drama, the Old Empire, was in the spring of the year stripped of its seats and stage in preparation for some new use. In the fall, however, a new company transformed it into the Temple Theatre, brought in a stock company of players, renamed them the Temple Players, and set out in October to resume a series of light dramatic entertainments. The pre-war balance was maintained between stock company productions at the Temple and touring professionals bringing to the New Empire Theatre plays which were recent hits at New York and even Paris. Special interest was engendered by the New Empire's run in March of familiar operas (Aida, Madame Butterfly, Rigoletto among them) presented by the San Carlo Grand Opera Company. Live features were not the only fare at the New Empire, however: vaudeville and motion pictures took up much of its billing.[8]

Vaudeville was likewise on a somewhat shaky foundation, despite its continuation except during summer months at two separate theatres as before the war. The Orpheum Circuit, "The Best in Vaudeville" by its own admission, filled in at best three evenings a week at the New Empire Theatre, and sometimes less, with programs like the "Extraordinary Attraction" of the "most baffling, bewildering and unexplainable novelty on the American Stage," to wit, "Sawing a Woman in Half," performed by the "celebrated Belgian mystic, Servais Le

Roy." As for the Pantages Circuit at the Pantages Theatre, not only did it share billing time with motion pictures, but the combination proved unprofitable. In May, to celebrate the eighth anniversary of the Pantages Theatre, Alex Pantages put on "an all-star vaudeville bill" including eighteen "headliners" among the performers. During the summer the large theatre was to be "overhauled and rejuvenated," but in July Pantages called a meeting of the directors of the Pantages Edmonton Theatre Company apparently intending to place the company in receivership on grounds of insolvency. One of the directors, and owner of the theatre building, George Brown, resisted the move apparently in the belief that Pantages and his brother were attempting fraudulently to regain the company's assets for themselves. Nevertheless, when the theatre opened again in the fall, complete with new $25,000 organ, it was as the Metropolitan Theatre at which vaudeville numbers once again shared the limelight with "photoplays".[9] Neither vaudeville nor live theatre could any longer compete alone against the invasion of ever-improving motion pictures.

The movies brought longer, more absorbing stories than previously, with "stars" in the leading roles, actors and actresses who appeared often enough to become household names capable of stimulating patronage no matter what the title of the film in which they performed. The Allen Theatre paid for a huge half-page newspaper advertisement for the film, Man-Woman-Marriage, which was labelled "the biggest motion picture of the year" with "heart appeal, breath-taking thrill, tensest drama, delightful humor and inspiring vastness" in its nine acts. Viewers were assured they might expect

> ...a wonderful romance and drama of mother-right, told from a woman's heart, and combined with vast spectacular movements wherein thousands of actors, pagan dancers and barbaric beauties participate. Untrammelled orgies in the courts of Caesar are contrasted with society life of today; the fights of the Amazons of old, who went plunging bare-legged, bare-armed, bare-chested into battle with the men, are contrasted with the fight of our women against the shackles of man-made marriage and man-made divorce.

What live production could possibly offer the same promise?

Yet the names were more important than the title in an advertisement of a "comedy romance" at the Princess Theatre starring Dorothy Gish Remodelling Her Husband under the direction of Lillian Gish. Mack Sennett, Charlie Chaplin, Tom Mix, Theda Bara and Mary Pickford were featured repeatedly; with eight or ten theatres simultaneously showing movies, it was difficult to find a week during which Douglas Fairbanks could not be seen somewhere. Moving picture technology ensured the ultimate in professional performance; no touring professional actor could keep his name and visage before his patrons so steadily. Nor had the references to the New York origins of travelling plays anything like the impact of the actual opportunity to see, one after another, such productions of the famous Cecil B. DeMille as Male and Female and Forbidden Fruit.[10] Though the theatres all had their four-man orchestras, and many still supplemented film fare with the live entertainment of local stars or touring professionals, that was all clearly fringe support for the premier mass entertainment of the age.

Another huge theatre, the 1,400 seat Rialto, sprang up early in 1921: this was a monument not to local entertainment initiative, but to the grip of the American movie industry on Edmonton. The producing companies filling Edmonton theatres were American all: Associated Producers, First National Pictures Inc., National Film Corporation of America, Realart, Goldwyn, Associated Exhibitors, Paramount-Artcraft, Jesse D. Hampton, Paramount. A distributor like Famous Players, to which the Empress Theatre was attached, was a Canadian subsidiary of another American enterprise.[11] The universality of Edmonton entertainment was determined far outside its boundaries; it would be difficult indeed to overestimate its effect on the collective Edmonton lifestyle.

A similar situation was developing in the world of sports where, however, the aspect of competition encouraged a greater degree of active participation, not merely total escape to the audience. This activity was, on the other hand, highly organized into systems. Although the Great War had interfered, the dominance of mass organization in Edmonton sport activities already notable in 1913 was further extended by 1921. Team sports held sway, but even the variety of individual competition was compromised by the nature of its organization. As had long been obvious, the simple contest between two individuals in many running or swimming races involved several communal factors. In the first place, such contests as became general public knowledge (and these formed a growing proportion) normally took place within the context of track and field meets of organizational dimensions significant enough to require an institutional sponsor. Schools and churches were two standard categories of sponsor; in this post-war era military groups were another. Though soccer and baseball may have been the popular attractions, track and field events and a tug-of-war helped to lure some 4,000 spectators to the Victoria Day program of the Military Athletic Association at the South Side Athletic Park. That was merely the largest of a number of events promoted by that association. July training camps of first some 500 Alberta cadets and then the 19th Alberta Dragoons featured organized athletic competitions. The city police managed an August meet. The biggest event of the season, combining the efforts of the South Side Community League with civic officials, was the July 1 competition, again in the south side park. Despite poor weather, a crowd of close to 5,000 overflowed the grandstands onto the rim of the field. Here again team games and horse races supplemented track and field events, but a second point to be made with this example, beyond collective sponsorship, is that even track and field contests were used to entertain mass urban audiences.[12]

Large scale sports organization was in numerous respects commonplace in 1921, encouraging sober reflection about the effects that might have had on the Edmonton community. Bowling alleys and billiard halls picked up where they had been before the war; besides being open for casual play, they promoted league play and challenge matches for the publicity. At the July 1 celebration there were not only horse races but also that new phenomenon, automobile races. The Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association could likewise not afford to pass up this most recent mass enthusiasm. The directors reported to the Mayor at the opening of the summer fair that, despite their "primary object" of agricultural and industrial display and education,

> the directors are compelled, in order to secure an attendance great enough to meet the cost of the exhibition, to provide the public with special attractions such as the midway, vaudeville performances, racing and games. The passion for amusement is as strong as the desire for instruction....

Horse racing was consistently popular for betting purposes; dirt track automobile races, run by American drivers whose reputations were heavily promoted in advance, provided a main attraction from the opening day, when 3,500 spectators packed the grandstand.[13] In all these ways, therefore, simple races had become collective urban enterprises and focuses for vicarious escapism.

For financial reasons the civic government's involvement in recreational organization was temporarily minimized, but in several other ways, semi-public and semi-private, plenty of formal organization was motivated by mass sporting recreation. The civic administration was reduced to limited groundskeeping and allocation of usage time by organized groups, some of which grieved that no additional facilities like grandstands were being added. A recreation commission created in 1920 involved no salaries, and its proposal early in 1921 that the city revive the full-time salaried position of a recreation commissioner met strenuous and successful opposition. Nevertheless, we have already seen how neighbourhood community leagues stepped into the breach, in some cases actually leasing grounds from the city on which to run their programs.[14]

Larger private clubs still held full responsibility for the golfing and curling organization of Edmonton; indeed, they and community leagues provided the grounds for the gentle pastime of lawn bowling, which was also organized for extensive league play by such organizations as the Civil Service Association.[15] The annual report of the Edmonton Golf and Country Club in 1921 showed a membership of 330 persons who had nearly eradicated club debts, sponsored a series of six dances and hired help to run the clubhouse in place of traditional stewards appointed from the membership. Work was already underway on the second Edmonton golf facility, the Mayfair Golf and Country Club, close to the University of Alberta, on property leased for twenty years "at a reasonable rental" from the city, the lease to be renewable. By fall, nine of the projected eighteen holes were completed and shares were selling briskly. Curling rinks were operated by the Granite, Thistle, Capital, Strathcona and Royal Curling Clubs, all with large memberships and serving an even larger user and spectatorial public. The all-male membership of the Granite Club numbered 132, but of course ladies played at the clubs as well. Mercantile firms staged local competitions for employees, and major "Grand Challenge" bonspiels of Alberta rinks filled the galleries with onlookers. Although their membership lists were studded with professionals and businessmen, thereby promoting through recreation the acquaintance and friendship of people with broadly similar means, the golf and curling clubs also provided sports services for a wider public.[16]

The new First Baptist Tennis Club and the older Holy Trinity (before the war known as the Strathcona) and Patricia

Square Clubs seemed to encourage large membership. If they were somewhat open clubs, they still added to tennis the clubhouse attractions of banquets and dances.[17] This kind of integration of sports and other recreation prevailed as well in organizations defined by a major employer, like the Hudson's Bay Amusement and Athletic Association, or the Canadian National Social and Athletic Association, the regular activities of which mixed sports competition with dances and whist drives. The Civil Service Association drew more than 2,000 people to its second annual picnic and regatta of aquatic sports at a beach near Edmonton in ~~August;~~ it sponsored rinks in a Labor Day Lawn Bowling Tournament on the south side C.P.R. "greens" in September.[18] No other organization could begin, of course, to approach the contributions of the Y.M.C.A., the gymnasium facilities of which were open to rental by external teams for practice and games in sports such as bowling, basketball, rugby, track and field, volleyball and cricket for which the Y.M.C.A. organized competitions and leagues and entered its own teams. At least as significantly, the Y.M.C.A. provided opportunities for those who had no remarkable athletic skills to participate in a variety of sports in a program of classes in gymnasium and swimming pool. On the latter activity city officials and Y.M.C.A. instructors cooperated: Y.M.C.A. lessons were given to hundreds of children at the city's Borden Park pool while adults clamoured for attention to their instruction as well. This evidence of civic contribution might offset to a degree the city's resistance to other projects, such as the plan of the football (soccer) club for a grandstand.[19]

These organizations (particularly the Y.M.C.A.) and many more sustained the fever pitch of competitive team sports which prevailed in the city. Leagues for regular and regulated play proliferated for a range of sports. Throughout the long winter, hockey was popular enough to require several levels of organization. A "mercantile league" indicated the nature of some of its team sponsors, which included at different times Marshall-Wells, Burns meat packing plant, Edmonton City Dairy, the Canadian National Railway company, teachers, bankers and firemen. A city junior hockey league mixed varsity and community league teams with one from Sacred Heart parish and another representing the Elks. Thirty-four teams played at three age levels within the Church Boys' League. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox players met Baptists and many others in a senior Church League which operated two divisions. Several hundred spectators would watch games between the Hudson's Bay Company and University of Alberta or Alberta Government Telephones teams in the senior city league, support for the first of these apparently always strong. Detailed coverage of senior city games appeared regularly in the newspapers. The Jesuit college participated in a Catholic league. By the end of the year, separate bankers', wholesalers', high school and public school hockey leagues were at the planning stage. To achieve a count of seventy-five separate active teams is easy. Even non-league challenge games for some other teams took on different urban organizational form. A women's hockey team was created particularly to meet and defeat a Calgary team in pursuit of Alberta and western Canadian championships. A challenge match between local members of the Teamsters' Union and the Cartage and Warehousemen's Association, at which a stunningly realistic donnybrook was faked for entertainment effect, was not staged simply for fun. Better than 500 tickets were sold to spectators who in this way contributed to a cooperative union-management donation toward the provision of outdoor recreation facilities for Edmonton's children.[20]

In spite of the mania for hockey, dozens of basketball teams also flourished, supported especially by the facilities and organizing drive of the Y.M.C.A. Senior and junior high school teams played challenge matches for special trophies. Educational institutions, including high schools, private colleges and the University of Alberta, dominated women's play in a nine-team league. A Y.M.C.A. "house league" organized six men's teams, from firemen to Old Timers. In spring the Y.M.C.A. was equally active in preparations for three divisions of a Church Boys' Baseball League of at least 40 teams, topped off by an open senior men's church league. Though the players were restricted to regular recent churchgoers, the sheer extent of the program makes clear its widespread application to hundreds of Edmontonians. Great West Garment, the Knights of Columbus and United Commercial Travellers were all represented in a five-team senior city baseball league. A representative amateur team ultimately won the Alberta championship in a Calgary tournament, enabled to travel to it, significantly, by the financial support from a large number of Edmonton businessmen.[21]

The baseball season overlapped with those of cricket and soccer, the latter two again with that of the divergent games of British and Canadian rugby (football) in the fall. Soccer, cricket and British rugby teams still drew heavily on old country loyalties for their colourful names and support. Half the senior soccer teams were sponsored by the Caledonian, Sons of England, Sons of Scotland and Shamrock clubs. Some had "B" teams in intermediate leagues as well. In soccer, too, church leagues were active, and high school representative team games led to championship play for a "Rutherford Cup". The leading senior men's team, the "Vets" (a common title in many sports leagues so soon after the war) as well as an all-star team on separate occasions defended the city's honour in provincial championship matches with Calgary teams.[22] The impact of soccer along with that of British rugby and cricket was, as one sportsman complained, minimized by a lack of grandstands and bleachers for the comfort of any large crowd of spectators. That the soccer teams enjoyed good playing surfaces was evidently not enough; an Edmonton City Football Association eager for major sports status was after audience as well as participatory facilities. Its finance committee petitioned the city in vain in this year of stringent economy.[23]

Cricket and English rugby teams harboured less grandiose ambitions. But their sort of play was not the kind to get very much collective urban attention as expressed by the newspapers, nor were their games frequent. The players who enjoyed English rugby shifted among teams identified as the Edmonton Club, Alberta Government Telephones, the Edmonton Welsh Club, or merely the "Probables" vs. the "Possibles". The six teams of the Edmonton Cricket League were content to have activity and competition. Interestingly, though, war veterans made up at least three (Dragoons, G.W.V.A., and "Scona Vets") of the cricket teams.[25] Indeed, organized sports recreation for military groups during their period of adjustment appears to have been quite significant. Their teams were noticeable in other sport leagues as well, especially for soccer. They made rifle marksmanship suddenly more prominent than had been the case before the war, the 19th Alberta Dragoons regularly competing against the 1st or 2nd Battalions, Edmonton Regiment. Reference has already been made to the endeavours of the Military Athletic Association. Among the teams participating in the season of contests of the Military Indoor Baseball League were representatives of the 19th Dragoons, the 1st Battalion of the Edmonton Regiment, and the "Machine Gunners".[26]

By way of contrast, the game of rugby (football) played by Canadian rules seemed reserved almost entirely for representative teams, with a heavy emphasis on promoting spectatorship. One of the two men's teams was that of the University of Alberta, whose representatives in a range of sports provided spectacles for the public at large, both in performance and in newspaper accounts, because they competed with teams from universities in other urban centres or from other Edmonton sources. In 1921 the university's teams won provincial and western university championships in men's basketball, a provincial championship at the intermediate level in rugby (Canadian football), a northern Alberta championship in men's hockey, and city championships in men's soccer and women's hockey and basketball.[27] The university Canadian rugby team competed against an Edmonton men's team known as the Eskimos, another Deacon White promotion. The nucleus of the Eskimos, a team which had originated soon after the war, was itself derived from former university players.

In the fall of 1921, the Eskimos proved to be sufficiently impressive to stimulate enormous enthusiasm and identification among Edmontonians. This was not a matter of chance. The promotional and coaching experience of Deacon White was important. The University of Alberta was not the only source of players; others came from American high schools and universities like Ohio State, or from eastern Canadian universities like Queen's. A backfield star was lured from a rival Calgary team; the circumstances were such that an Alberta Amateur Athletic Union investigation was required to demonstrate that he had moved to Edmonton for reasons of business opportunity, not sport alone. A warm-up game was arranged with an eastern team from Hamilton. During the regular season, which involved the two Edmonton and two Calgary teams, the Eskimos repeatedly thrashed their opponents with lopsided scores. Newspaper support became rabid as tantalizing visions of participation in a challenge match for the Canadian championship Grey Cup beckoned with all its promise of publicity for Edmonton. In due course the Eskimos defeated a Winnipeg team for the western Canadian championship. The mayor wired Edmonton's congratulations. On the late evening return of the players, a "large throng of enthusiastic citizens" greeted them and a band led a noisy parade to a midnight reception at which the mayor pledged the city's assistance to send the Eskimos east for a Grey Cup challenge. The next day the Board of Trade, the newspapers and civic officials planned a canvass for funds. In the end the Rotary Club contributed a substantial portion of the required amount, all of which was expected to be repaid from Grey Cup game receipts. City Council passed a resolution of formal civic commendation, and the Edmonton Journal professed to see in modern Edmonton the Greek spirit of sporting antiquity. A three-team high school Canadian rugby league sprang into being. That the Eskimos were ultimately shut out by the Toronto Argonauts did not prevent the team from arranging their plans for another challenge in 1922, this time with advance financial sponsorship from the Elks club.[28]

There was a lesson in all this: representative teams for the city required money, especially as their success increased, the arena of their activities broadened, and transportation costs were magnified. The point of it all was public spectacle, both for Edmontonians' own emotional gratification and for favourable recognition of the collective entity across the land. But spectators were simultaneously important in another way: their continuing - indeed, expanding - financial support became a crucial factor. So did the ability of athletes to spend time away from Edmonton. As Deacon White, who had a foot in both camps, no doubt realized, it is but a short step from the promotion of regular gate receipts to the formation of teams of professional sports specialists. Edmontonians were being asked to support two kinds of professional teams in 1921: baseball and hockey. The implications of that support were classically urban, for the attentions of as many citizens as possible would be focused on the fortunes of a single team. The collective approach would be essential once again to this provision of vicarious enjoyment in the realm of recreation.

Like any other business, this one depended in part on quality of service to maintain demand, especially in relatively small market places. The north-side Eskimos and the south-side Dominions displayed sufficient quality in the Alberta "Big Four" hockey league to draw consistently 1,000 to 2,000 fans, but the two Calgary teams were forced to amalgamate and the addition of teams from Saskatoon and Regina was necessary for reorganization as the Western Canada Hockey League at the end of the year.[29] The difficulties experienced in supporting professional hockey were nothing compared with the endless readjustments necessary to bolster the faltering baseball league in which an Edmonton group of businessmen and professionals attempted to maintain a team. It did not help that the team played losing baseball. Not even the expertise of Deacon White, now the Edmonton Baseball Club's president, or the American organization and players on which the Club depended, could bring prosperity. The Western Canada League was registered at a relatively low level of the minor league sub-section of the National Association of Baseball Clubs in the United States. Its players, most of them recruited from scattered American points, trained during the spring in California. Misfortune nevertheless seemed regular. Before the end of the season, two of the prairie teams had withdrawn, an ace Edmonton pitcher had departed for his California home, and a less than spectacular team had trouble maintaining interest in a rearranged, long sixty-four game home schedule.[30]

At one level, therefore, professional sports entertainment seemed to struggle in Edmonton, although the hockey Eskimos and Dominions often prompted wild enthusiasm. On the other hand, in debates within the Canadian Amateur Athletic Union about the necessity to keep amateur and professional sportsmen distinctly separated, Alberta representatives were decidedly unconcerned. But Edmonton residents had another kind of access to professional sport in minutely-detailed newspaper reports of the affairs of American baseball teams, North American hockey teams, British rugby and soccer teams, and American professional golfers. World Series baseball was reported inning by inning. The Dempsey-Carpentier world heavyweight boxing championship match in July was regularly publicized in Edmonton newspapers for three months before the fight, almost as though Edmontonians would be eligible to buy tickets. After the fight, which was barely under way before it was finished, the Edmonton Bulletin devoted one and one-half pages to the story, and the Journal was not far behind.[31] Edmontonians were, for sport as for other commodities, consumers of imported specialties when they could not support the salaried specialists locally. The distinction between Edmonton and North American or world urban citizenship was significantly blurred.

Footnotes

1. Edmonton Bulletin (EB), January 3, April 21, October 10-14, 1921; Edmonton Journal, (EJ), January 25, February 26, March 7, 11, May 2, September 3, 24, November 2, 1921.

2. EB, January 3, April 8, 1921; EJ, January 3, November 9, 1921.

3. EJ, May 25, June 27, August 9, 19, 23, October 5, 7, 1921.

4. EJ, May 17, 25, 30, July 13, 23, August 6, 9, 15, 19, 23, September 3, 6, 1921.

5. EJ, June 24, July 11-14, September 3, 1921; EB, June 25, July 13, 1921.

6. EB, April 4, 21, 1921; EJ, January 28, May 5, 7, November 12, 1921.

7. EJ, January 3, 10, 28, 31, February 26, May 2, 7, June 4, August 6, October 20, 31, November 8, 1921; EB, April 25, October 11, 1921.

8. EJ, January 22, February 26, March 8, May 5, October 5, 20, 29, 1921.

9. EJ, January 3, 22, February 2, 7, March 8, May 3, 6, June 4, 6, July 18, 27, October 20, 22, 29, 1921.

10. EJ, January 3, 22, May 3, 5, 7, October 20, 22, 29, 1921. These afford but a taste of the ongoing inundation.

11. EJ, May 2, 7, August 27, October 29, 1921.

12. EB, April 6, August 15, September 12, 1921; EJ, May 25, July 5, 27, 1921.

13. EJ, June 27, 29, 1921; EB, January 7, 8, February 2, 19, July 2, 4, 11, 12, 1921.

14. Helen M. Eckert, "The Development of Organized Recreation and Physical Education in Alberta" (Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1953), 95-102, 113-116; Elsie M. McFarland, The Development of Public Recreation in Canada (Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970), 41-42; Taped interview with Charles Smail by Naomi Radford, September 30, 1967, Provincial Archives of Alberta (PAA); EB, January 11, 12, February 21, 1921.

15. EB, August 27, October 3, 1921; EJ, September 3, 1921.

16. A casual check of members' occupations in Henderson's Edmonton Directory for 1921 yields the result that professional men such as lawyers, university professors and doctors were

disproportionately represented. Many businessmen belonged. I have carried membership analysis no further than that. See also the 1921 membership list of the Granite Curling Club, EB, January 5, 1921, as well as other references in EB, January 3, 4, February 10, 17, 18, March 8, September 23, 1921; EJ, September 22, 1921.

17. EJ, May 23, September 13, 24, 1921; EB, September 6, 1921.

18. EJ, February 26, March 11, August 23, September 3, 1921; EB, April 11, 1921; Eckert, "The Development", 106-107.

19. EB, February 21, July 23, 1921; Eckert, "The Development", 120-124.

20. EB, January 3-13, 24, February 1, 3, 17, 21, November 16, 22, December 7-9, 1921; EJ, January 28, February 4, 1921.

21. EB, January 7, 24, February 19, March 27, April 1, 4, 5, September 22, November 9, 1921.

22. EB, January 10, March 12, April 11, 20, July 2, 25, August 15-17, 29, September 6, October 17, 31, November 14, 15, 1921.

23. EB, February 21, April 19, 1921.

24. EB, October 10, 17, 31, November 7, 1921. And see D. N. Sturrock, "A History of Rugby Football in Canada" (Unpublished M. A. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 191-193.

25. EJ, July 2, 1921; EB, March 28, July 12, August 22, 1921.

26. EB, January 6, February 1, April 5, 1921.

27. Evergreen and Gold (University of Alberta Yearbook), vol. 1 (May, 1921), 75: University of Alberta Archives.

28. Taped interview with Moses Isaac Lieberman by David J. Nelson, July 5, 1973: PAA; EB, September 12, 13, 21, 22, 23, October 3, 10, 31, November 15, 16, 22, December 5, 7, 1921; EJ, November 9, 15, 16, 1921.

29. EB, January 3-8, February 28, most of March, November 23, 24, 1921; EJ, November 9, 1921.

30. EB, January 6-12, March 29, April 1, 8, 20, July 25, August 15, 16, September 13, 1921.

31. Keith L. Lansley, "The Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and Changing Concepts of Amateurism" (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971), 163-164; EB, February 28, March 19, July 4, September 21, 1921; EJ, July 2, 1921. Sports pages in newspapers, as in 1913, were extensive, and crowded primarily with external sports news, not merely about game details, but also about minute contract negotiation information and other business deals as well.

CONCLUSION

Chapter 23: An Urban Community.

Edmonton (including Strathcona) grew in population from not many more than 3,000 in 1898 to approximately 73,000 in 1914, subsiding slightly before 1921. During the period of rapid growth Edmonton had become only a small city, and would remain at that plateau until after World War II. The history of Edmonton's development in that period is not, therefore, a saga of metropolitan immensity: for Edmonton that is a very recent transformation indeed. Prairie cities were, however, in general very modest urban accomplishments before the second World War, so that Edmonton's early development was at least in some ways representative of a western phenomenon, perhaps excluding Winnipeg as a creation of a prior era and circumstance. The other prairie cities grew substantially in the same boom period and as a result of the same immigration wave and agricultural settlement. They all had very little history before the twentieth century, certainly none as major urban centres. Their citizens had all to cope with the urgent requirements of rapid growth followed by the sudden demise of a development rate the infinite duration of which had been taken for granted. The vast majority of the prairie urban citizens by World War I were newcomers, most from central and eastern Canada, but some from distant and alien lands. Bearing in mind these superficial similarities, the experiences of Edmontonians may therefore have been rather more typical of prairie urban communities in Canada than unique among them.

Generalizations about the community of Edmonton might be suggestive for prairie urbanity as a whole.

In the early evolution of the community of Edmonton, a number of factors were consistently important. First of all, those who migrated to Edmonton sought to earn their personal or family livings in the context of the city's projects. For the first decade or more, budding entrepreneurs used the collective agency of the Board of Trade to maintain a strenuous campaign for new railway connections and adequate railway service. Later a new emphasis would be placed on securing a position on a trans-Canadian highway. Immigration and agricultural production was encouraged and futile efforts were made to develop northern resources by new businessmen in search of expanding profits. The Klondike gold rush, despite its location a thousand and a half miles away, was a fitting symbolic start for Edmonton's growth and is a proper focus for annual modern celebration. Edmonton earned no fortune by it, but as a collective promotion it stands for many others of less renown initiated by entrepreneurial boosters. Northern oil and gas provided an equally illusory but highly illustrative hope in 1921. Surrounding agriculture sustained a small city in the years between, but the urban ambition was to promote constant growth with new projects. Among businessmen this motivation was strong enough to overcome two decades of urban rivalry between Strathcona and Edmonton, scuttling the Strathcona experiment in favour of joining what looked to be the superior Edmonton growth spurt. Given several years of untrammelled bounty, neither businessmen nor tradesmen would admit its end in 1913, but sought desperately to revive it. Driven by grim necessity rather than by choice, to consider a different example, hundreds of labourers flocked seasonally into the city in search of either the wage-paying work or the barest comforts of accommodation and food which the city might provide. For promoter and proletarian alike, though from different perspectives, the lure of Edmonton was its economic prospects. That complex urban community was expected to generate opportunities not available in other settings.

In 1898 the community was at the village level of personal acquaintance. The overall coordination provided by town councils, school boards and a Board of Trade did prevail, but the community they represented was an intimate one, within which group institutions were not nearly as crucial as they would later be. Thus there was little effort to isolate an exclusive elite. Everyone knew the personalities bickering in council chambers. Collective municipal responsibilities were limited; the civic bureaucracy contained but a handful of employees to cope with essential services, and fires were attacked by volunteers. Planning, or the anticipation of municipal problems, had little place in civic deliberations. Individuals wishing to engage in team sports knew whom to contact to arrange challenge games; regular formal organization was just beginning. Nevertheless, in line with their personal ambitions, urban entrepreneurs behaved as if growth was assured: urban trappings were imposed where the ease of personal interaction might render them a trifle incongruous. There was reason for the villages of South Edmonton and Edmonton each to pretend to be a city: in urban expansion lay the possibilities for personal profit.

When village intimacy disappeared, the importance of urban cohesion did not decline, but had to be expressed in more formal, institutional ways. The municipal bureaucracy grew: that is, the range of tax supported collective projects increased, both to serve those who belonged and to attract more outsiders. Edmonton became a community of groups rather than of individuals, but those groups maintained their fundamental commitment to the best coordination of the total system. The concept of an elite became important; the residential location of the well-to-do became distinguishable from the location of those whose survival was marginal. To match the lobby impact of the Board of Trade, regularly pushing the city to commit its citizens collectively to growth decisions, trade (and some few labour) unions organized the Edmonton Trades and Labor Council. Residential areas finally were organized in community leagues. Dissent was on occasion expressed by all these component groups and more, but the effect was more constructive than destructive: the criticisms of all retained the essential context of the city. The objective was not to destroy a hateful institution, but to maximize the advantages of its component groups and, hence, individuals.

With immigration came a variety of cultural traditions, but along with that variety, a majority element of central and eastern Canadians of British background determined to reduce the heterogeneity seeping into the city. Moral and social homogenization was a strong motivation for cooperation among certain established church groups of long Canadian tradition.

It might involve prohibition and the related projects of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and its several allied cross-denominational societies. Behaviour control for the whole community was the foundation of the campaigns to enforce the Lord's Day Act, to repress prostitution and gambling, and eventually to censor moving pictures. Alien immigrants formed an acknowledged target. The Young Men's and especially the Young Women's Christian Associations showed strong tendencies to arrange the assimilation of newcomers, and stressed besides a visibly respectable integration into urban society. In the W.C.T.U. and the Hospital Aid Society from the beginning, but in new organizations like the Local Council of Women and the Y.W.C.A. later, women played an increasing part in these aspects of community development in the urban setting.

Large numbers of consumers were a necessity to enable widespread variety in specialized skills, services and products. In this sense the collective urban project gradually widened choices in lifestyle for individual participants, but with side effects again peculiar to the urban community. To make a specialized service or a particular product available, large numbers of consumers also meant the duplication for many people of exactly the same experiences: not only many within one city, but ultimately the same experiences for Edmontonians as for urban dwellers across the continent. Thus advertisers and consumers paid for the large scale communication of the same news, fiction and sports in the newspapers of Edmonton as was received in countless other cities; local information outside any individual's personal knowledge was the same for all Edmontonians. This sort of phenomenon was most noticeable in the realm of entertainment, where mass audiences came increasingly to view repeated identical spectacles of stage and screen, and where thousands of Edmontonians identified with the professional or semi-professional athletic specialists striving on their behalf for the honour of Edmonton against the representatives of other urban clusters. Urban growth made special services possible, and in sports, at least, the experiences in turn solidified community identification for the onlookers. In other fields, if an individual's opportunities were diversified by the phenomenon of urban growth, that was true for him not in isolation, but in precisely the same way as for other masses of urbanites. Here was a community development of sinister connotation: individuality seemed to be sacrificed.

On the other hand, individuality may never have been a strong characteristic among those who flocked to Edmonton. For almost nothing about Edmonton was a brand new experiment. Traditional collective behaviour in traditional institutions was simply transplanted to a new setting. A majority of the people, and an even greater proportion of the elite, came from eastern and especially central Canada, almost all of those professing British antecedents. The similarity in their backgrounds was to a certain extent threatened by significant and noticeable numbers of alien immigrants, but that was offset by the ameliorative effect of ethnic institutions having the general tendency to assist in a transition to the prevailing practices rather than impose new departures. A minority group of earlier prominence, French Canadians, appear to have made little impact on the hordes of newcomers, although they may be said to have attempted a little belated resistance to the engulfing Ontario and American influences. Those organizations of the Anglo-Saxon majority dedicated to moral reform and social rectitude in their campaigns to eradicate the prevalence of liquor, prostitution and gambling were simply applying solutions of long standing elsewhere in North America to a modified situation when they undertook as well to remake alien immigrants in their own images.

The sources of the majority of the urban populace, it is hardly surprising, were also the locations to which local businessmen and the municipal governments themselves looked for investment capital: central Canada, Great Britain and the United States. This was not altogether so direct as appeals simply for financing; promotion of Edmonton as a future railway centre constituted an equally significant invitation to invest in the city's future. The institutions of business, like banks, insurance companies and land companies, were for the most part branches of large North American or British concerns. Their representatives formed a Board of Trade affiliated with hosts of others across North America developing a common range of urban promotional strategies. Competition with a rival like Prince Albert for gold rush advantages in 1898 or with Calgary for highway connections in 1913 and 1921 was essentially only a matter of doing at the same projects a better job than their rivals. Innovations in civic government came similarly from a common pool of ideas: the civic charter of 1904 was inspired by Toronto expertise; the preferred solution to Edmonton's problems in 1921 was to snatch the expert himself from the nearby city of Saskatoon. Specific professional and business organizations were plugged into provincial and national associations. The labour organization which prevailed in the city after 1906, dominated by an underlying philosophy favourable to the continued smooth functioning of the traditional urban organism, was not developed uniquely in Edmonton, but was accepted as a branch of a firmly established international phenomenon. When there was disagreement about the collective urban business, disagreement rooted in different cultures, different occupational or residential circumstances, the resolution was provided by institutions well understood from decades of experience in North America and Great Britain: annual public meetings and annual election campaigns.

Nor were the multitude of organizations peripheral to citizens' livelihoods of unique local inspiration. Age old fraternities and more modern service clubs alike appeared in Edmonton not as the first but after several hundred or thousand other branches of the orders had set the traditions to be followed systematically in Edmonton as elsewhere. Those prior experiences were all urban: the services to the city provided by Elks, Rotary or Kiwanis clubs had been well tested in other centres before their application, or perhaps their slight modification, in the "new" city. Churches best established in the city had traditions throughout the world ranging from ancient to merely old. No modern day reformation was stimulated by the Edmonton mission. Even the evangelists whose message seemed especially appealing to those of limited means outside the standard denominations either came on tour or followed the practices developed in older cities of Great Britain or the United States. Militia troops were meant, of course, to coordinate with their counterparts across the dominion; the post-war Great War Veterans' Association was a branch, like so many others, of a national organization. That all these associations tended in one way or another to promote urban harmony is not very surprising considering the strength of urban tradition and the length of institutional experience which went into their Edmonton expressions, whatever the urban inexperience of the actual people who were organized by them.

The leisure time of Edmontonians was increasingly filled by recreations which were, as were their clubs, not the products of their own local experiences, but merely the Edmonton manifestations of outside developments. Not only the sports activities, but the models for sports organization came from Great Britain in the case of curling, the United States in the case of baseball, or eastern Canada in the case of hockey. The organizations of Edmonton, moreover, came invariably to hold membership in provincial, national or international agencies with not merely supportive but coercive regulatory powers. Professionals appeared among players' ranks to entertain Edmonton audiences in the same ways as the masses were served across the continent. Accepted only grudgingly in sports, professionals were commonplace in other forms of Edmonton entertainment at a much earlier date. The plays and musicals Edmontonians watched in 1906 had been transported by the same performers through countless similar towns. By 1913 they had been joined by the light entertainment of vaudeville and the moving pictures which spread far and wide the images of single performances disembodied. Performances by Edmonton's own players were overwhelmed by the steady procession through several entertainment halls of imported productions. An extreme statement may emphasize the particular urban situation of early Edmonton's artistic entertainments: even among local productions by Edmonton performers, the works presented were invariably imported and conventional. Edmonton was evidently not the city to inspire or attract unique artistic creativity.

There was something inexorable and involuntary about Edmonton's early community development, a process guided not always from within its citizenry, but based first on external models and imposed later by the consequences of early decisions. The original decision to provide utility services by public enterprise was supported by North American precedent, and the ratepayers proved eager during the years of expansion to launch project after conventional project with debt upon debt. There is no doubt about the importance of individual self-interest: among ordinary people, to have paved streets, water, sewerage, electricity, telephones, street car service extended to their residential or commercial locations; among land speculators, to enhance the value of their holdings; among boosters, to attract more development and more business. That these individual desires led to an onerous and inextricable collective commitment far into the future was emphasized by the heavy civic indebtedness which remained to be shouldered long after the growth phase was over. It was the price of urban participation: no newcomer to the city could avoid it; the only positive escape was to forfeit the advantages of urban community. There were, of course, those who for one reason or another could not cope with their responsibilities: they were struck by disease, or incapacity, or unemployment. It proved impossible for the majority to ignore altogether the most distressed, for contagious disease was a threat to everyone if not controlled, and excessive evidence of poverty and misery detracted from the urban growth objective and was in the close quarters of a city too obvious for oblivious comfort. Though these problems as communal responsibilities were resisted and left as long as possible to voluntary initiative, the costs brought the volunteers to appeal to the city as a whole; and public health especially, but public welfare too in part, were added to the aggregate burden.

The imperative of the urban community - and this meant vastly more than impulses within the confines of Edmonton alone - was pervasive in the lives of individual citizens. This may not seem an attractive conclusion. "Although we may admit gracefully that we are dependent on each other, we dislike its reality," Jacques Ellul has written, in search of *The Meaning of the City*.[1] "We dislike being included in a group condemnation. We dislike even more being only one building block in that whole called a city, being so interdependent, not only on men but on an abstraction, that our death is decided by the acts of the city." This perception begs the question: why then were so many people eager to swell Edmonton's population? The answer is at once simple and profound: those who came did so for their own reasons, but by that very independent decision each helped to solidify the influence (perhaps even control) of the total urban community over the individual citizens who made it up. Some came expecting the future of the city to improve their private lifestyles; others more desperate came because they had virtually no choice for their survival. In either case, their personal fortunes and quality of life depended upon the welfare, the prosperity, and the undertakings of the city as a whole, even though the presence of no specific citizen was essential to the continued functioning of the urban organism. In many areas of his life, therefore, including not only his occupation, but also his residential situation, his voluntary associations, his recreation and the form of his religious expression, the fact of belonging to Edmonton was impressed upon the citizen. To describe his life required repeated reference to characteristics of the total community, a condition of interdependence much more obvious to him than to the rural farmer. The intensity of interrelationships and urban identification did distinguish the city dweller from his country cousin, who might more easily preserve the myth of his own independence. The community of Edmonton was no myth; the popularity of a successful representative football team was no veneer to cover disintegration beneath. The community of Edmonton was based on countless concrete acts which linked the aspirations of individuals, small group associations, and the urban whole.

Footnotes

1. Jacques Ellul, The Meaning of the City, translated by Dennis Pardee (Grand Rapids, Michigan, William B. Eerdmans Publ. Co., 1970), 22.

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I. A Note on Sources

The vision of R. Lynn Ogden when he was Vancouver City Archivist several years ago, that a city archives should take a lively role to ensure the preservation and accessibility of urban records other than simply those of the civic government, has not yet captured the imagination of Edmonton civic officials. Even cataloguing the portion of Edmonton municipal records and the few private collections which the small Edmonton City Archives can accommodate has been left to a small staff with the assistance of many volunteers. See R. Lynn Ogden, "The Records of Business and the Urban Historian," Urban History Review, no. 3-72 (November, 1972), 2-5; Helen LaRose, "The City of Edmonton Archives," Urban History Review, no. 3-74 (February, 1975), 2-7 and no. 3-77 (February, 1978), 89-90. References to documentary collections for this study of a broad variety of urban activities are therefore sporadic and situated in a number of different depositories. The range of records required prohibited the alternative of searching them all out in their non-archival locations and seeking access to them prior to research. It was possible, however, to turn to another kind of comprehensive urban record: the city newspapers.

Any newspaper researcher must take carefully into account a number of disadvantages associated with such "documents". Many scholarly reservations are based on one significant shortcoming: the major city newspapers can hardly be expected to reflect fully the activities and concerns of the less enthusiastic participants. Those between the most committed leaders and the most bitter complainants in any field obviously did not make the same kind of news. Other records would, however, be subject to the same caution. On another aspect, any newspaper's editorials should on matters of controversy be expected to express a particular point of view; but daily newspapers also reported something at least of the alternative arguments, perhaps with subtle or not-so-subtle distortions. The availability of two and sometimes three newspapers for the years of this study provides a further check on the problem, though by no means an extensive set of interpretations for any dispute. Finally, there is no doubt that newspapers fail to yield many of those frank private views which can be so illuminating.

Among the records of civic administration, not many papers remain for the period before the 1920s. Minutes of municipal Council meetings are among those available, but these are much less valuable than the extensive accounts which appeared in the newspapers. There Council decisions were embellished with detailed outlines of the debates which accompanied them: the discussions often revealed far more than the actual outcome about the political dynamics of the city. In any case, a major summary of Edmonton Council minutes has been compiled by E. H. Dale in his 1969 Ph.D. thesis. Newspaper coverage of south side municipal affairs for 1906 was inadequate; in that case the availability of Strathcona Council minutes was convenient.

The only statistically useful "raw data" at hand for the population at large, save for the 1898 civic census of the north side, appeared in the Henderson's Directories for the relevant years. Subject to its limitations, the information in these directories could certainly be manipulated statistically for purposes other than those pursued in this thesis: to buttress speculations about the opportunity for occupational mobility, for example, or to provide numerical details about shifting occupational emphases in the urban economy. Here the directories were used primarily to discover correlations between occupational categories and residential locations, and only secondarily to test other patterns. For certain years, especially 1921, the Canadian census summaries provided helpful information.

Among the secondary sources, there is a paucity of scholarly work on early Edmonton history. Apart from graduate theses, notably those by Dale, Gilpin, Hart and Sheremeta, and an article by Weaver, the most valuable volumes have been the biographical collections noted in the appendices. Beyond Edmonton history itself, the English-language literature on urban history is vast, because it comprehends so many distinct fields of research. The selection which follows includes only those references of particular relevance or inspiration for this study. Certain key individuals and the editorial boards of certain publications have within the past decade made urban history one of the best served branches of the discipline for up-to-date bibliographic and historiographic aids, including the following:

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APPENDIX I

Social characteristics of certain leading citizens of Edmonton (including South Edmonton/Strathcona), 1898, 1906, 1913 and 1921.

Sources: The following biographical collections all provided information for 1898, 1906 and 1913; only the Blue volumes provided information for 1921.

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A. Year of Edmonton Arrival:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
To 1870	2	2	2	
1871 - 1880	8	8	8	
1881 - 1890	23	21	20	
1891 - 1898	47	46	45	
To 1898	80	77	75	27
Average years in Edmonton	9.2	17.0		
1899 - 1906		97	92	52
To 1906		174	167	79
Average years in Edmonton		9.0	16.1	
1907 - 1913			154	130
To 1913			321	209
Average years in Edmonton			9.4	14.5
1914 - 1921				49
To 1921				258
Average years in Edmonton				12.3

B. Birthdate and Age:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
To 1850	13	13	13	1
1851 - 1870	52	92	115	55
1871 - 1890	12	63	177	198
1891 - 1895	0	0	5	4
Total	77	168	310	258
Average Age	46	40	41	45

C. Birthplace:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada	56	134	228	180
Ontario	36	94	166	131
Quebec	10	17	21	13
Maritimes	8	18	33	28
West	2	5	8	8
British Isles	18	33	68	51
England	9	19	37	25
Wales	1	2	6	5
Scotland	8	12	21	17
Ireland	0	0	1	4
United States	0	2	19	23
France	1	1	2	2
Belgium	1	1	1	0
Germany	1	1	2	0
Orange Fr. St./S. Africa .	1	1	1	1
Austria	0	0	0	1
Sweden	0	0	0	1
Total	78	173	311	259

D. Birthplaces of Parents:

1. Father

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada	19	54	103	101
Ontario	7	29	65	67
Quebec	6	14	17	11
Maritimes	6	11	21	20
West	0	0	0	1
Unspecified	0	0	0	2
British Isles	35	64	99	71
England	10	22	35	23
Wales	1	2	5	3
Scotland	16	22	37	29
Ireland	8	17	21	16
Unspecified	0	1	1	0
United States	0	1	8	8
France	1	1	2	2
India	0	1	1	0
West Indies	0	1	1	1
Germany	0	0	1	0
Newfoundland	0	0	1	1
Sweden	0	0	0	1
Total	55	122	216	186

2. Mother

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada	20	58	107	95
Ontario	8	30	68	62
Quebec	8	15	18	13
Maritimes	4	13	21	17
Unspecified	0	0	0	3
British Isles	26	46	73	49
England	4	15	25	16
Wales	1	1	3	2
Scotland	10	17	29	19
Ireland	11	13	16	12
United States	1	2	6	8
France	1	1	2	2
Germany	0	0	1	1
Sweden	0	0	0	1
Norway	0	0	0	1
Total	48	107	189	157

E. Religious Affiliation:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Anglican	10	33	64	58
Baptist	1	3	15	16
Congregational	0	0	1	2
Lutheran	0	1	1	0
Methodist	4	22	46	39
Moravian	0	0	0	1
Presbyterian	21	49	92	84
Protestant	0	0	0	1
Roman Catholic	11	13	22	18
Unitarian	0	0	0	1
Total	47	121	241	220

F. Fathers' Occupations:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Farming	23	53	81.5	57
*Business	10.5	24.5	43.5	39.5
Professions	5	14.5	17	14.5
Government	8	10.5	14.5	9
Trades	7	11	14	7
Military	1.5	1.5	1.5	0
Labour	0	0	4	2
Clerical	0	0	1	1
Total	56	115	177	130

*Almost entirely commerce until 1921; the tiny proportion previously in manufacturing, banking contracting, brokerage, or other services together increased to nearly half in 1921.

G. Childhood Locations:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada	54	126.5	216.5	171
Ontario	34.5	87	153	127
Quebec	9	17	23	13
Maritimes	6	14	26	22
West	4.5	8.5	14.5	9
British Isles	15	27	58	39
England	8	15	33	21
Wales	1	2	5	3
Scotland	5	9	19	14
Ireland	1	1	1	1
United States	3	5.5	16.5	18
Belgium	1	1	1	0
Germany	1	1	1	0
France	0	0	1	1
New Zealand	0	0	1	1
Total	74	161	295	230

H. Degree of Urban Childhood Experience:*

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Rural	27	58	89	62
Village	16.5	29.5	57.5	42
Town/City	23.5	55.5	107.5	98
Total	67	143	254	202

*For a variety of fairly obvious reasons, this cannot be precise, but the diversity and non-urban weighting are clear.

I. Education Level:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Public or secondary school	51	63	106	78
Private school	14	17	21	4
Trade school/ apprenticeship/ business college	12	21	41.5	32
University/ professional or normal school/ seminary	22	63	136.5	139
Total	72	164	305	253

J. Pre-Edmonton Adult Locations (after completion of education:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada (unspecified) . . .	0	0	1	1
Ontario	30	63	123	103
Quebec	8	15	24	18
Maritimes	2	10	21	20
West	45	86	145	105
England	6	10	27	22
Wales	1	2	5	3
Scotland	4	7	16	12
Ireland	0	0	2	2
United States	7	23	54	50
South Africa	1	3	3	2
Germany	2	2	2	1
Europe (unspecified) . . .	0	0	2	0
Belgium	0	0	0	1
Newfoundland	0	0	1	0
Mexico	0	1	1	1
West Indies	0	0	1	0
Jamaica	0	0	1	1
Burma	0	0	1	0
None	10	24	23	24
Total Sample	80	174	322	259

NOTE: Several had of course lived in more than one place.

K. Number of Pre-Edmonton Occupation Types:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
None	11	25	38	19
One	38	83	160	150
Two	23	53	94	65
Three or more	8	13	19	9
Total	80	174	311	243

L. Wives' Origins at Time of Marriage:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Canada	48	106	147	109
Ontario	23	60	89	69
Quebec	4	6	8	6
Maritimes	2	9	11	13
West	7	15	21	13
Edmonton	12	16	18	8
British Isles	10	20	44	31
England	5	11	22	11
Wales	1	2	5	4
Scotland	4	7	17	14
Ireland	0	0	0	2
United States	0	5	17	21
Germany	1	1	1	0
Russia	1	1	1	0
Australia	0	0	1	1
Austria	0	0	1	1
Total	60	133	212	163

M. Basic Edmonton Occupations:

	1898 Sample	1906 Sample	1913 Sample	1921 Sample
Professional	21	51	104	117
Real Estate & Financial	5	24	53	32
Construction & Building Materials	7	14	22	10
Commerce	15	25	38	39
Agriculture-related Manufacturing & Sales	9	15	17	7
Services (including govt)	19	36	66	53
Government alone	0	0	43	44
Retired	4	6	11	0
Total	80	171	311	258

APPENDIX II

Information about forty-seven men whose families are mentioned in the society column of The Saturday News in 1906.

Sources: Those listed in Appendix I, and Henderson's Manitoba and North West Territories Gazetteer and Directory, 1906. Winnipeg, Henderson's Directory Ltd., 1906.

A. Religious Affiliation:

Total	Anglican	Presbyterian	Methodist	Roman Catholic	Baptist
36	12	17	2	3	2

B. Birthplace:

Total	Ontario	Marit.	Quebec	West. Can.	England	Scotland
47	31	5	3	3	4	1

C. Civic Positions:

1. Strathcona: Medical Health Officer; One Public School Trustee; Board of Trade President.
2. Edmonton: Mayor; Two of Eight Aldermen; City Solicitor; Medical Health Officer; Two Board of Trade Vice-presidents; Two of Seven Board of Trade Councillors; Four of Nine Edmonton Industrial Exhibition Association Board Members.

NOTE: In this case the names of all the men whose families are mentioned in the society column of The Saturday News in 1906 constituted the sample.

APPENDIX III

Information about forty-four Edmonton Club members of 1906.

Sources: Those mentioned in Appendix I, and The Edmonton Club. Act of Incorporation, Constitution, Regulations and List of Members. Edmonton, Keystone Press, 1913.

A. Birthplace:

Total	Ontario	Marit.	Quebec	W. Canada	England	U. States
44	23	7	6	2	5	1

B. Occupations:

Bank Executive	1
Construction & Building Materials . .	5
Doctors (medical)	2
Government	5
Lawyers	12
Merchants	8
Real Estate	4
Surveyors, Engineers, Architects . . .	4
Other	3
Total	44

C. Religious Affiliation:

Total	Anglican	Baptist	Methodist	Presbyterian	R. Catholic
32	12	3	2	7	8